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Near East/South Asia Report

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20 September 1985

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ALGERIA

DROUGHT VICTIMS RECEIVE HELP FROM MILITARY HEALTH STAFF

Algiers EL DJEICH in French Jun 85 pp 46-48

[Article by Bouzakaria Fodil]

[Text] For years several African countries have not known springtime, green growing plants, and rain because they are undergoing the rigors of drought. The spectre of famine is appearing on the horizon for the entire southern Sahara population. In their search for basic nourishment, they have been forced to move to new areas in order to sustain life. These victims, among whom are found Nigerians and Malians who have lost all life-sustaining resources, except a few camels and small herds of cattle, have crossed the borders into Algeria.

Since the beginning of this exodus in September of 1984, their number has continued to increase. There are now thousands of them in the wilayas of Adrar and Tamanrasset, more precisely in Bordj Badji Mokhtar, Tinzaouitine, Timiouine, and Ain Guezam. The exodus began with the arrival of groups of Malians and Nigerians in September of 1984. They left their country and arrived in Algeria after a long journey on foot or by riding on mules or camels which had escaped the drought. Some were brought by commercial trucks which crossed the border. At the beginning, there were only about 10 to 50 families per day, a number which would later vary between 50 and 100 families.

In March of 1985, the statistics at the wilaya of Tamanrasset showed that 22,606 people had arrived in our country.

In some cases they came from border areas and in others from interior villages as distant as 750 kilometers from our border. They are presently scattered through the wilayas of Adrar and Tamanrasset, with 1,500 at Tinzaouitine, 3,000 at Timizouine, and 5,000 at Bordj Badji-Mohktar; the greater part of them are from Mali. There are also 12,600 refugees at Ain Guezam, the majority of whom are Nigerians.

Considerable Aid

Upon their arrival, Algeria, which still accepts the principles of cooperation and neighborliness, felt obliged to help and shelter them from

this calamity. For this reason, companies of the A N P (Popular National Army) were quickly mobilized to prepare reception areas, tents, and supplies. To welcome the families, commissions were organized at the commune level to administer the distribution of aid. Gifts then began to arrive at the Social Action section of the A N P in the form of clothing, bed covers, food products, utensils, and gas stoves. Total aid estimated at 41 million Algerian dinars was sent to Ain Guezam and other points on 2 April. After a visit to the refugee area by Abedelhamid Brahimi, an ex-officio member of the Political Bureau and prime minister, an interministerial meeting took place to take necessary measures for providing additional help.

Military Health Staff Always There

Upon their arrival in Algeria, the refugees still bore the after effects famine, particularly children whose health was precarious and cattle herds ravaged by different kinds of diseases. The commander of the 6th Military Region immediately designated doctors of the Military Health Staff to attend to the illnesses. The military doctor responsible for the sector of Ain Guezam told us, "We have to consider each person who comes into Algeria as a sick person due to malnutrition, lack of hygiene, and exhaustion. Some of them have deadly, contagious diseases such as measles, tuberculosis, and jaundice, which are found in 90 percent of the children and 50 percent of the aged. There are also cases of respiratory diseases, diarrhea, and skin and eye diseases. We initiated an immunization program against certain illnesses, and we offered milk and "Sabiamine" flour for the children. We treat the less dangerous illnesses day and night with medicines we already have in our units and with those which arrive from the wilaya."

Commenting on this medical aid, the regional director of the Military Health Staff said, "There are 2 doctors for each camp, and we record 50 to 60 emergencies per day. What is important for us is the treatment of the sick, especially while the deadly diseases are still raging. A delegation from the Maillot Military Hospital in Algiers also visited the area. A seminar was held afterward concerning the most prevalent diseases and surgical emergencies, as well as eye diseases and diseases of animals. A delegation of the Algerian Red Crescent from Constantine came to the camps at Ain Guezam to assess the situation of the drought victims. Four loads of medicines and supplies were subsequently sent to the centers.

Impressions

The efforts of the doctors and those responsible for the refugee work have not been without effect in improving conditions for the thousands of people who expressed their opinions about the quality of the welcome and the efforts furnished by Algeria to help them. It is in this spirit that a young man who wanted to compare his new situation with the preceding one declared, "God be praised; we have been accepted as brothers; before coming here we ate only a few kernels of grain or chaff. Here we eat bread, we drink milk, and we have dates and dough." Reports by doctors from the area provide the best evidence of their efforts. At Timiaouine, a report from the military doctor responsible for that zone, dated 26 February 1985, mentions the following,

"There has been a drop in the mortality rate since last week; we have recorded 40 deaths from measles, against which we have initiated a vaccination program. A report from the doctor at Timzaouitine dated 2 March 1985 says that, "the number of deaths from measles has climbed to 17."

The National Party Commissar summarized the efforts of the Military Health Staff as follows: "In spite of the serious medical condition of a great number of people and a lack of medicines, we can say that the units of the A N P have put forth considerable effort and have saved a great number of human lives.

12230

CSO: 4519/161

EGYPT

ASSEMBLY MEMBER DISCUSSES USSR VISIT

PM161147 Cairo AKHBAR AL-YAWM in Arabic 10 Aug 85 p 7

['Abd al-Fattah al-Dib report from Moscow: "With the Egyptian Parliamentary Delegation: The 'Bright Star' in Moscow"]

[Text] The Soviets have expressed their concern to the Egyptian parliamentary delegation regarding the "Bright Star" maneuvers which the Egyptian armed forces carried out with the U.S. forces in the Egyptian desert.

Dr Muhammad 'Abdallah, chairman of the foreign relations committee at the People's Assembly and head of the Egyptian parliamentary delegation which spent a week in Moscow at the invitation of the Supreme Soviet, answered the Soviets very frankly.

Dr 'Abdallah told Vinogradov, head of the Soviet mission in Geneva and previously ambassador to Egypt for 4 years, that the purpose of the joint maneuvers was to train the Egyptian Army on new U.S. weapons. The maneuvers are limited in terms of time and the number of participants, and not a single American soldier taking part in them will remain in Egypt after they are finished.

The Egyptian parliamentary delegation head said that these maneuvers are not directed against anybody and that Egypt does not wish to escalate the situation with any of its neighbors. Rather it wants to boost its defense capability in order to strengthen peace, which it is seeking to achieve as well as seeking to defend its national security. It is inconceivable that Egypt, which is striving for peace on its eastern side, should want to launch a military confrontation on its western side.

Smiling, Dr 'Abdallah went on: By the same token we should feel apprehension about the joint maneuvers you carry out with Libya at sea or in the air or with Syria. But we are confident that you are a peace-loving country and have no intention of attacking anybody. Furthermore, Egypt does not agree to be a tool in anybody's hand for attacking another power and does not build its friendship with any state at the expense of its relations with any other. This is one of the principles and constants of the Egyptian policy in President Muhammad Husni Mubarak's era.

Vinogradov made no comment but moved on to discuss another topic.

In fact the Egyptian parliamentary delegation's visit has achieved all its objectives. These include putting forward Egyptian views regarding current issues, foremost of which is the Middle East problem and the Palestinian problem, as well as the Egyptian view regarding the activation of relations between the two countries, particularly in the economic, commercial, and technical cooperation fields. The objective was also to underline the Egyptian internal and external policies under President Mubarak.

Dr Muhammad 'Abdallah said that the visit enabled the Egyptian parliamentary delegation to feel that the Soviet side sincerely wants to open new horizons of cooperation between the two countries without looking back to the past and without being oversensitive. The visit also provided both sides with the opportunity to submit their views fully regarding the points on which they agree or disagree on international problems.

The complete frankness on both sides enabled each of them to draw a true picture of the situation. Despite the existence of points of disagreement, both sides agreed that they should not be a stumbling block to further cooperation and dialogue.

The visit enabled the Egyptian side to submit its views at Supreme Soviet Presidium level and to discuss them with those responsible for foreign policy as well as with the specialized institutions which participate in decision-making. This is important for the removal of much confusion and ambiguity. From the first moment we stepped onto Soviet soil we felt the Soviet Union's great interest in the visit. This interest took various forms:

The Soviet Union deliberately arranged for the protocol treatment of the delegation to be at the highest level, bearing in mind that such things are critically measured in the Soviet Union. Accommodation for the delegation was allocated in the Sovetskaya Hotel, which is reserved for senior visitors to the Soviet Union with the rank of deputy prime minister.

The Kremlin was opened as well as some of the wings which are open only to leading visitors with the rank of prime minister. There was also the choice of the Kremlin auditorium in which talks with First Deputy Chairman Kuznetsov were held for 90 minutes. The Soviet side affirmed the Soviet leadership's particular interest in the delegation's visit and President Andrey Gromyko's wish to have met the delegation, had he not been outside Moscow, in the southern Soviet Union. For this reason he charged his first deputy to receive and meet the delegation on his behalf.

The Egyptian delegation was received by Tolkunov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, which is one of the two councils forming the Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Yazkuliyeu, president of the Turkmenia and Deputy Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, attended the luncheon given in the delegation's honor and the dinner given in its honor by Egyptian Ambassador Salah al-Din al-Basyuni. This is considered to go beyond the demands of protocol and to reflect the extent of Soviet interest in the Egyptian delegation.

Anatoliy Gromyko, son of Andrey Gromyko and director of the African Studies Institute, cut short his Black Sea visit and came to Moscow to meet the delegation, after which he returned the same day to resume his vacation.

Members of the Egyptian parliamentary delegation participated in the talks during the 7-day visit and "showed an extremely honorable attitude." There were: Sayyid Zaki, whom head of the delegation Dr 'Abdallah introduced to the Soviets as one of the most long-standing political figures in Egypt, deputy for Cairo, and chairman of the cooperatives federation; Dr Sa'd al-Khawaliqah, chairman of the transport and communications committee at the People's Assembly, a professor at the engineering college in Alexandria University with a doctorate from a Soviet university; Sa'd al-Din Wahbah, member of the People's Assembly for Cairo, doyen of cinematographers, deputy chairman of the federation of writers, and an Egyptian thinker who has made a considerable contribution to literature and theater; Tawfiq Zaghlul, one of the most prominent members of the People's Assembly; Layla Hasan, deputy for al-Sharqiyah Province and one of the prominent female figures in the assembly; Mustafa Munji, an assembly member and a leading trade unionist; Ahmad Idris, assembly member for Cairo, originally from Aswan; Yusuf Siddiq, assembly member for Qina (special interest was shown in the latter two because they represent Upper Egypt provinces); and Sayyid Rustum, assembly member representing the opposition Npug Party. His participation in the Egyptian delegation gave a very positive picture of the extent of agreement among parties on all national matters. The delegation was accompanied by Colonel Mustafa Wasfi of the People's Assembly guard and ashraf 'Abd al-Wahhab from the protocol department.

In all the meetings between the two sides the Egyptian delegation put the following facts before the Soviet side through Dr Muhammad 'Audaahhal:

Egypt supports every effort for world peace, which is a fundamental line in our policy. We have submitted an initiative to make the Middle East and Africa nuclear-free zones.

We believe in the peaceful solution of problems in the context of international legality.

We adhere to the policy of nonalignment and refuse to give military bases to any country on our territory.

We believe in the unity of the Third World.

We believe in relations based on mutual respect and equality.

Egypt is doing all it can to make a comprehensive and just solution the basis of peace in the Middle East.

We appreciate the Soviet Union's support for Arab rights and the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. We also appreciate the role the Soviet Union played in supporting the liberation movements in the area in the sixties.

CSO: 4500/188

EGYPT

JOURNALIST ON SOVIET MIDEAST VIEWS, TIES WITH EGYPT

PM301141 London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 28 Aug-3 Sep 85 pp 12, 13

['Abd al-Sattar al-Tawilah article from Moscow: "How Do They Think in Moscow? Relations With Cairo Still an Old Soviet Wound"]

[Text] "You want an American wife and a Russian mistress," was a phrase I heard from one of the most prominent CPSU Central Committee members who is considered an expert on Arab and Egyptian affairs.

This phrase defines or reflects a certain trend toward Egypt by the Soviet policymakers. It is the hardline trend that calls for adopting an indifferent stand and not trying to restore Egyptian-Soviet friendship even on a limited scale. This friendship, in their view, is costly for the Soviet Union and only means more loans and grants and then "suspensions," as they had actually experienced in the case of Egypt.

I am quoting almost verbatim the words I heard in Moscow during my recent visit to it looking, among other things, for the reality of the Soviet attitude toward Egypt and the Middle East problem.

It was not difficult to find out that the Soviet politicians adopt a clear line toward Egypt as there is a consensus on a specific policy toward the Middle East conflict.

The proponents of the first line [as published] betray in their discussions a deep bitterness over their experience in Egypt. They show good sentiments and even love for the Egyptian people and talk about their good memories in Egypt. When I told them: Your warm feelings are probably due to the fact that this was the first time that you were received in a Third World country with warm welcome as you were during Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir's days.

They said: We cannot deny that.

The proponents of this view say that the Soviet Union should not take a single concessionary step toward the restoration of friendship with Egypt. Judging by past experience it is an unreliable friendship. As an example they cite Al-Sadat's attitude toward them and how he turned them from being friends of Egypt and the Arabs during the war against Israel into enemies and turned the Americans from foes to friends.

But there has been change in Egypt since Al-Sadat's death.

They see this change as superficial; the traffic is going in the same direction and only the traffic policeman has been changed. They believe that Egypt is linked to the United States by an unwritten alliance.

How is that?

You do not attack U.S. interests in the Middle East as Jamal 'Abd al-Nsair used to do. While some 20 years ago no U.S. warship dared to drop anchor in an Arab port, the Americans now hold joint maneuvers with you, with Oman, and With Jordan. It was possible to do the same [with Sudan] during Numayri's regime.

Indeed Egypt supported, participated with, and helped the United States in the setting up the so-called Rapid Deployment Force [RDF] in the area in order to threaten its countries.

Egypt has presented and is presenting the United States as a friend of the Arabs and indeed a contributor to their liberation from Zionist occupation and even as a savior from Arab aggressions! Did not Egypt call upon the United States to confront the so-called Libyan aggression and threats to Ja'far Numayri's regime, the AWACS aircraft were dispatched and U.S. aircraft carriers several times came close to Libyan shores?

How could you present the United States as a friend of the Arabs when its battleship New Jersey bombarded the positions of Muslims and Palestinians in Beirut?

Continuing, the proponents of this view say:

Where is Egypt when it comes to denouncing imperialist plans against world peace? Where is its voice when it comes to denouncing the "Star Wars" plan which the world countries have condemned and in which Israel will participate and, therefore, threaten you?

Why does Egypt abstain from voting on a resolution on protecting Nicaragua from U.S. aggression?

Kuwait's role with regard to the policy of nonalignment has now become more distinguished and more serious than that of Egypt.

Does Egypt not perceive the cruise and Pershing missiles deployed in Sicily directed at the Middle East so as to threaten those countries in the event of a third world war and to persuade them to join the imperialist camp.

Moreover, there are now thousands of U.S. military advisers and experts in Egypt and there is an anti-Soviet campaign in all the Egyptian media at a time the Soviet Union has done nothing wrong against Egypt. In fact one cannot imagine what would have happened to all the Arabs had not the Soviet Union been there to repel imperialist designs in the area as far as it is able.

In fact, while not a single Soviet paper attacks what is taking place in Egypt, the Egyptian authorities become angry if a Soviet paper quotes lines or articles from an Egyptian opposition paper and they accuse the Soviet Union of interfering in Egypt's internal affairs.

I told the comrades who are proponents of this view that Egypt is obliged to do so after having inherited a heavy legacy from Al-Sadat's era. It is receiving U.S. aid and food supplies. How can it compensate them and how can it free itself of U.S. ties?

They replied as follows:

The Arab world has vast resources that can compensate for any loss of aid not only from the United States but from any other country.

The economic difficulties Egypt is facing are not new. It has faced them before and the Soviet Union cooperated with it; many problems were solved and much was achieved.

The proponents of this view refuse to make concessions to Egypt; they insist on Egypt repaying all its debts and do not care about the further deterioration of relations.

They say that Egypt wants to obtain any Soviet aid or concessions without distancing itself one step from the United States. It wants Soviet gains without real friendship while continuing the alliance with the United States. In other words Egypt wants to obtain from Russia what it cannot obtain from the United States without giving anything in return. There is no better example of this than the fact that Egypt is still appropriating the building which the Soviets built for their employees in Cairo and still insists on closing the Soviet Culture Center, and limiting the number of Soviet diplomats in Cairo. The Egyptian newspapers ignore the Soviet Union except in matters harmful to it.

The proponents of the other view believe that:

The Soviet Union is primarily responsible for the liberation movements and opposing U.S. and imperialist influence everywhere.

Therefore, we must encourage any trend, even if small, to get rid of ties with the West if only on a limited scale.

Therefore, they see in the behavior of the Egyptian leadership a sincere attempt to get rid of the ties with which Al-Sadat has burdened Egypt and restricted its independence. Therefore, it is the duty of the Soviet Union to adopt a positive stand toward the present Egyptian regime.

There is no harm in the Soviet Union making some contribution to economic development in Egypt but cautiously, without haste and generosity as was the case in the past, and in accordance with the principle of mutual benefit.

Serious efforts must be made to settle relations with Egypt so that it will be encouraged to adhere to the idea of convening an international conference to solve the Middle East problem in order to end the conflict in the area--the conflict that represents one of the world tension spots which is exhausting some of the Soviet Union's energy.

It has been proved in practice that the collapse of Egyptian-Soviet friendship was a great loss for the Soviet presence in the area and no relations of friendship with other Arab countries have compensated for it.

There is a feeling among many in influential positions in Soviet policymaking circles that the Soviet allies cannot be relied upon. There is also a feeling of frustration over the fragmentation of those allies and the inconsistency of their policy and orientations.

These are the two Soviet views on the question of dealing with Egypt. It can be said that no one view is overwhelming the other. This was evident during the Soviet economic delegation's negotiations with Egypt to settle the debts and conclude an economic protocol.

The Soviet delegation oscillated between adopting a soft line and a hard line until the hard line won and so the delegation left Cairo without reaching a final solution.

Why do the Soviets not support the Palestinian-Jordanian agreement?

Simply because they are afraid that this will be the beginning of a settlement in the Camp David style.

What is the Camp David style?

Direct negotiations for partial solution of the problem with each country separately.

But Egypt and Jordan have agreed on the need to convene an international conference.

Most likely this is for local consumption and with the aim of putting pressure on the United States.

Do you believe that a partial agreement can be reached providing for Israeli withdrawal from all the West Bank and Gaza and recognizing the Palestinian people's rights?

No.

Why the fear then?

Because Egypt insists on direct negotiations between a U.S. delegation and a Palestinian-Jordanian delegation.

This is because Egypt wants to secure a preliminary and essential step for the convening of any negotiations whether international or direct, namely U.S. and Israeli recognition of the Palestinian side, the PLO, which must attend the negotiations.

The Soviets say that they are not against preliminary talks and contacts in this regard, even if directly, if it is true that the idea is to convene an international conference in order to achieve a settlement.

What arouses Soviet suspicions is that none of Egypt, Jordan, or the PLO since the recent agreement are talking about the Fes resolutions or the Fes initiative. They are keen on these first because they emanate from an Arab consensus and, second, because they agree with the Soviet line on solving the problem.

For this reason it is not surprising that the United States and Israel are opposed to these resolutions and ignore them. The Soviets believe that there is an Egyptian-Jordanian attempt to include the Soviet Union in an international conference simply to "rubber stamp" the agreement.

What can force you to "rubber stamp" the agreement and who said that the Palestinians will accept anything less than withdrawal from all their territory and their right to self-determination?

The Soviets draw attention to the fact that Egypt did not declare its opposition to Peres's five-point plan and say that Egypt, Jordan, and the PLO are of their own volition putting themselves under U.S. pressure and opening the door to further divisions within the PLO.

From where shall we begin then?

In the view of the Soviets the beginning should be with the unity of the Arabs. The Fes resolutions are Arab summit resolutions. There must be discussion of ways to reconcile all the Arabs and then agree on a specific slogan, which is an international conference to implement the Fes resolutions.

But some of the Arab countries insist that Egypt should abrogate the Camp David accords, which would mean further tension and perhaps a war between Egypt and Israel.

Egypt's agreement with the other Arab countries and adherence to an international conference means abandoning the Camp David line, which is the line of separate solutions through direct negotiations.

Do the Soviets support the state of no peace, no war?

They consider this a falsehood which U.S. intelligence fabricated in order to make the Arabs lose confidence in the Soviet Union. It is in the interest of the Soviet Union to end the conflict in the Middle East.

What is the Soviets' attitude toward the massacres in the Palestinian camps?

They oppose them. They have spoken about the matter with President Hafiz al-Asad when he visited Moscow last June. They have also spoken to him about the hijacking of U.S. airliners and expressed their condemnation of such actions that are counterproductive.

What is their attitude toward the PLO under Yasir 'Arafat's leadership?

They are for PLO unity and for this reason they did not declare their support for 'Arafat and rejected an Egyptian proposal that he be invited to Moscow so as not to lose the dissident faction.

How is their relationship with Syria and what role can it play in the conflict?

It is their only ally in the area and is the one that seriously supports the convening of an international conference. It is also capable of thwarting any plans to go back to the Camp David line. It is one of the confrontation states and part of its territory is occupied. It has influence on an important section of the PLO and in Lebanon. For this reason they are arming it so as to thwart any Israeli plan to strike at it in order to end its ability to exert influence. It is also an important bridge to Iran which, despite what has happened so far, is believed by the Soviets to be the principal force in the Middle East hostile to the United States.

Therefore Syria is involved in major plans concerning the world balance and the potentials for clashes or bargaining with the West as well as the question of presences in the area--the game in which Turkey has begun to play an active role by extending a hand to Egypt via Syria. [as published]

How do the Soviets regard the Arab leaders' attitude toward the United States?

All the Arab leaders are aware of and have personally experienced the harmful U.S. role against Arab interests, the simplest example of which is its cooperation with Israel.

Still those Arab leaders do not take one single step forward against the United States. Why?

Regardless of the agreement on the long-term interests, it is clear that those Arab leaders are afraid of being murdered by the United States. The U.S. role was exposed in the destruction of Beirut.

Do the Soviet believe that there is a solution for the Middle East problem in the near future?

They do not think so.

Why?

Because of Arab dismemberment, Palestinian dismemberment, and Muslim dismemberment as well as the lack of a definite Arab plan. There is no overwhelming power that could force Washington and Tel Aviv to make concessions. Therefore, what is happening now is just a waste of time or paying "lip service" [these two words published in English] that might last 2 or 3 years without any solution being reached.

CSO: 4500/188

EGYPT

LIBYANS URGED TO CONFRONT AL-QADHDHAFI

NC260636 Cairo Voice of the Arabs in Arabic 2040 GMT 25 Aug 85

[Station commentary]

[Excerpts] The name of Libyan Colonel Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi has become synonymous with the names of many pirates and thieves known for their vicious and unethical deeds. Some of these thieves of history enjoyed certain characteristics which have succeeded in gaining people's sympathy. But Col Al-Qadhdhafi, who is playing the role of a pirate in addition to his basic mission of spreading terror and instability, has aroused the indignation of the entire world for the ingratitude he has shown toward the hands that rendered him help and services.

Instead of thanking those who gave assistance, Col Al-Qadhdhafi turned into a mad creature, biting the hand which had built all the vital installations which he himself tried to hold up proudly to the world as made by his own hands.

It is strange that Al-Qadhdhafi, who resorts to such hellish methods and who is playing the role of a pirate and thief, is deafening the world with his cries over fake threats which he claims Egypt is making. He is threatening Tunisia and is massing troops along its borders only because Tunisia decided to defend its sons. Tunisia denounced his behavior and methods in expelling its citizens by closing some Libyan offices which had carried out illegal practices in that country, threatening both its security and stability. This behavior can only come from a man whose self-deception has made him lose his senses. It can only come from one who believes he can play the role of a real pirate outside Libya. Al-Qadhdhafi, however, has forgotten that his size and capabilities, regardless of who is supplying him with weapons, do not qualify him to play this aggressive role or any other role. Al-Qadhdhafi imagines that he has succeeded in sowing and spreading terrorism in various parts of the international arena. In the end, though, he will not be able to tread beyond his fortresses and detention camps, which are being protected by experts in the field of security, espionage, and terrorism. Al-Qadhdhafi is bountifully giving money to these experts--money that belongs to the Libyan people--to the extent that he has brought Libya to bankruptcy, halted the implementation of many projects, and failed to honor his commitments.

Perhaps the principal factor that has made Al-Qadhdhafi play the role of the pirate and theif is to add a new title to his many titles, the most famous of which is international terrorist, a title about which he has been boasting. Hence, the Libyan people must confront their ruler, Col Al-Qadhdhafi. The world will not remain silent for long about his behavior. Only at that point the Libyan people might find themselves asked to repay part of his debts. Thus, the Libyan people should confront Al-Qadhdhafi's practices and should force him to respect his neighbors, respect their rights, and return what he has robbed from them. The Libyan people will search for every means of help from the Arab nation until peace and stability are restored in the area.

CSO: 4500/188

EGYPT

VOICE OF ARABS COMMENTARY ON DAMASCUS MEETING

NC260600 Cairo Voice of the Arabs in Arabic 1815 GMT 25 Aug 85

[Commentary by Samir 'Abd al-Tawwab]

[Text] At a time when we are about to celebrate the great and blessed feast of immolation and sacrifice, 'Id al-Adha; while Muslims are standing on the Jabal 'Arafat, ready to pick the embers and fling them at the devil, before they head to the most sacred edifice on earth, God's house, the sacred Ka'bah, where they will run back and forth between the Al-Safa and Al-Marwah hills, at the conclusion of the pilgrimage rituals; and while our hearts, as Muslims and Arabs, are drawn to the pilgrims in the holy land and share with them the prayer that the Arabs and Muslims will be brought together in love, charity, loyalty, and harmony; Damascus is receiving the Libyan and Iranian foreign ministers. The two foreign ministers are not in Damascus to discuss Arab fragmentation or to probe its causes and try to mend the Arab and Islamic rift. On the contrary, they are busy consolidating the unholy alliance among Syria, Libya, and Iran. This alliance is aimed at dividing the Arabs and Muslims and at tearing apart what is left of Arab unity. Syria, Libya, and Iran are merely pondering the best way to strike at Iraq, both its people and its economy, now that Iran has failed to win the war against Iraq. They are seeking the best way to lash out at Iraq since Syrian and Libyan assistance has failed to curb the unthwarted attacks of the Iraqi Armed Forces, particularly the Iraqi Air Force, which dealt painful blows on Iran's Khark Island.

The three midgets are meeting in Damascus not in order to promote truth, justice, and peace, but to sow the seeds of evil in Arab and Islamic soil. So much for the veneration of 'Id al-Adha. The sacredness of the feat is not enough to quell their Satanic designs against the Islamic world.

Whether in Syria, Libya, or Iran, those who have sold out their consciences have no trouble sacrificing the interests of their countries and region. Those midgets meeting in Damascus have one common denominator and are pulled by one string. The hand pulling the string is known, and there is no need to go into the embarrassing details. The ultimate goal is to reduce or eliminate the role of the Arab and Islamic people. Hence, the prodigies of Damascus, Tripoli, and Tehran are not discussing the liberation of the

Golan Heights. Nor is the Palestinian issue featured in their lexicon. Likewise; they are not worried about the criminal disintegration of Lebanon. The fact is they want to see Lebanon mutilated and deteriorating. This is the reason behind Lebanon's continuing predicament, already in its 10th year.

The homicidal Gulf War, however, will be discussed. The midgets meeting in Damascus want to find a way out of the dilemma posed by the valiant performance of the Iraqi Army and people. The Damascus meeting is a last desperate attempt to deal a staggering blow to Iraq. It is not an attempt to reconcile the two neighboring Muslim countries, whom God forbids they fight each other.

Dear Arab brothers, let's take brief note of the achievements of the three midgets in Syria, Libya, and Iran with regard to all Arab, Islamic, National, Regional, and Humane issues. We will review these achievements by means of a few questions that are not difficult for any Arab or Muslim to answer:

What is the role of Iran and the other two midgets in the Gulf events in general and the Kuwaiti incidents in particular?

What is the role of Syria and the other two midgets in dividing the Palestinians and wreaking havoc in Lebanon?

What is the role of Libya and the other two midgets in sabotaging the relations among North African countries; namely, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, and Mauritania?

What is the Libyan role in the infamous dispute over the Western Sahara?

Last but not least, what is the role of the three midgets in the rebellion in southern Sudan? And what of its role in supporting some of the rebels up to now against the legitimate Sudanese Government, causing security and economic disruption in the southern part of that country?

Is Libya not primarily suspected of instigating this rebellion in southern Sudan?

Examining a further aspect of the unholy alliance among the midgets of Damascus, Tehran, and Tripoli, namely terrorism, we can hardly point to one honorable Arab or Muslim who has not been scarred by feats of this unholy pact.

Is there any evidence that Syria, Libya, or Iran ever had any qualms about harming Arabs or Muslims? Our reference here is to the ruling regimes in these countries, who oppress their people, coercing them with fire and steel, with prisons and with murder—all methods prohibited by God Almighty.

On the eve of the great feast, 'Id al-Adha, we cannot do better than pray to God Almighty that he will show them the right path, so that our Arab and Islamic countries are spared more troubles.

CSO: 4500/188

EGYPT

BRIEFS

NEWS AGENCY AGREEMENT WITH GDR--Berlin, 26 Aug (MENA)--MENA and the GDR official news agency, ADN, signed an agreement providing for enhanced cooperation between them. According to ADN, the agreement, signed today in Berlin, aims at improving the flow of news and photograph releases between the two news agencies. [Excerpt] [Cairo MENA in Arabic 1915 GMT 26 Aug 85 NC]

CSO: 4500/188

IRAQ

WARNING AGAINST POOR USE OF GROUND WATER

Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 25 Jun 85 p 4

[Article by Sa'd Ibrahim Yahya al-Sam of the General Ground Water Organization: "Ground Water in Iraq and the Perils of Its Misuse"]

[Test] Ground water is considered a main source for fresh water for it constitutes 97 percent of the world's fresh water. Rivers and lakes make up the other 3 percent.

Before going into the perils of misusing ground water, we would like to refresh the memory about nature's water cycle. Water evaporates from the oceans and seas and rises to form clouds which return to earth as rain. After a rainfall, the first part of the rainfall puts back into the soil the moisture it had lost during the dry season and, as the rain keeps falling, part of this water flows on the ground and finds its way to rivers and lakes through valleys. The rest of the rainfall seeps into the ground where it reaches the ground-water level which begins to rise during the rainy season.

The amount of water resulting from the rise of the ground-water level is called the renewable reserve. There is also the fixed reserve. It is the amount of water stored between the upper insulating stratum and the lowest level of the water during the dry season or after the renewed water which entered the stratum flows out to find its way back to the oceans via rivers, lakes and springs to complete nature's water cycle.

The nature of the level terrain in Iraq and the type of soil, the water drainage system and the misuse of the renewable reserve had led throughout the years to the rise in the ground-water level which in turn has resulted in the destruction of large areas of land in Iraq. These areas have turned into swamps due to the proximity of the ground-water level to the surface and the high temperatures which help evaporate this water and, consequently, increase its salinity.

William Wilcockson said: "If the flood water in the Tigris and Euphrates is totally controlled, the delta of these two rivers can be turned into land which can produce in quantities unheard of in history."

This statement is very true for the vast areas of Iraqi land, which, coupled with an abundance of water and heat, sets Iraq apart from all the other dry-area countries in the world.

Water control in these two great rivers cannot be achieved through dams and installations only because ground water constitutes between 30 and 70 percent of the fluvial flow.

The amount of spring water which flows to the Euphrates is equal to 3 cubic meters per second [cms]. Ground water is also drained into the Euphrates via water-bearing strata. This drainage in the southern desert area (the area between al-Najaf and Basrah) amounts to 13 cms.

To explain the damage done by this drainage, we cite some figures to figure out the salinity of the area located between al-Nasiriyah and al-Shanafiyah (on the right side of the Euphrates) where a total of 1.3 cms of ground water has been drained via springs with a salinity rate of about 3 grams per liter. Draining this water to the area causes 345 tons of salt sedimentation a day due to vaporization. This amount of salt is enough to destroy vast areas of arable land.

To picture the ground-water salinity, we would like to note that potable water has less than 1 gram per liter and agricultural water may have up to 4 grams per liter, depending on the type of cultivated land. Sandy areas may be irrigated with water with a higher rate, but clay areas with low permeability must be irrigated with water with a lower rate.

The above shows that ground water is the main source for raising the salinity rate. Tests have shown that plants which have a high resistance to salinity can live in land which has less than a 1 percent salinity rate. In anything higher than 1 percent, these plants wilt and die.

This shows that higher salinity rates are related to higher ground-water levels. To desalinize the soil, the ground-water level must be dropped because washing the soil without dropping the ground-level leads to a rise in the level and, consequently, to a higher salinity rate. Regular washing affects fertility.

We can deduce from the above that the southern desert, known for its barren land, due to its renewed water causes a higher salinity rate in the sedimentary plain. Keeping in mind that we are now talking about the first water-bearing stratum in the southern desert, what would happen if we knew that there are three water-bearing strata, with the third stratum containing artesian water which flows to the surface and that all this water is good for irrigation (having a salinity rate of between 3 and 5 grams per liter)?

Preliminary studies underway at the General Ground Water Organization, the Tikrit-Samira project west of al-Tharthar, point to an abundance of water in the al-Jazirah area, particularly between al-Tharthar and the Euphrates rivers and the fact that the level of this water is between 5 meters under ground and 15 meters above ground. It can be produced via wells no deeper than 20 meters. This water is good for irrigation and can be produced by wind-driven pumps.

Everyone in Salah-al-Din Governorate knows how much damage these winds can cause and how many problems and difficulties are caused by the dust storms coming from al-Jazirah.

However, if the ground water is used for agricultural purposes, al-Jazirah will be turned into a green haven and the dust storm will become a warm fresh breeze.

Al-Jazirah area water (the part between al-Tharthar and the Euphrates) is drained into the Euphrates River and al-Tharthar. The rise in the water level in al-Qadisiya Dam area will hinder its flow to the Euphrates, thus leading to a higher water level.

Thus we see the need for the prompt completion of the studies with a view to utilizing the ground water. Failure to utilize this water will lead al-Jazirah land to the same fate as the sedimentary plain area, not to mention the present damage done in the two cities of Hayt and al-Falujah due to the rise in the ground-water level.

The other part of the ground-water study and investigation area of the Tikrit-Samira project is the area lying between Hamrin Mountain and the Tigris River and between al-Fathah and al-'Azim River.

This area may be likened to Aladdin's magic lamp filled with oil but whose only outlet is the oil opening. This oil opening is in fact al-Shari' Lake, the main outlet for draining the ground water to the al-Muthalath [i.e., triangle] area which contains ample quantities of ground water with a salinity rate of 1.6 to 6 grams per liter. This rate goes up as the depth increases. This triangle area, which is almost neglected at present, can be cultivated through the ground water. To improve the ground-water situation, we see a need for better drainage first by building a tap from al-Shari' Lake to outside the triangle while opening a canal between the Tigris River near al-Fathah to al-'Azim River, thus dividing the triangle into two parts where water can pass during the flood season instead of it all flowing into al-Tharthar depression and going to waste.

The purpose of the proposed canal is to feed the ground water and to make up the shortage caused by production should the ground water be used for agricultural purposes. Everyone is familiar with the vegetable crops produced by the Samira inhabitants at the present time, so what if this area is to be reclaimed and al-Muthalath land totally cultivated?

Most of the country's northern areas contain very fresh ground water due to good water drainage. We have to mention here al-Khazir-Kawmal Basin which is considered one of the excellent basins of Iraq. Its salinity rate is between 0.1 and 0.3 grams per liter and has two strata of ground water. The first stratum is exterior and contains a large amount of ground water. The second one is artesian with a ground-water level of 70 meters above ground and a well production rate of 400 cubic meters a day.

If the ground water in al-Khazir-Kawmal Basin is utilized--the area of flat land there is about 400 square km--the basin can be turned into a beautiful fruit and vegetable orchard instead of the present rainwater system.

Some may imagine that Iraq is desert land with little water due to the lack of rain. However, to demonstrate the possibility of utilizing the renewable reserve and part of the fixed reserve, we say that the producing wells in Iraq, since drilling started on the government wells, total 700. If we divide the production of these wells over Iraq's area, the high renewable-reserve areas constitute about 1 percent of the total renewable reserve. In low renewable-reserve areas, the result is 15 percent of the total renewable reserve.

As an example, we would like to point out that the U.S. utilizes ground water at a rate of 60 percent of its total water consumption and drills 1,200 wells a day.

Therefore, determining the amount of the renewable reserve in all of the various water strata in Iraq is an urgent necessity. This can only be done clearly and accurately through ongoing studies and investigations of the ground water. Even after the completion of preliminary studies, we see a need for constantly observing the ground water to be on top of any changes caused by production which we think must get underway in the areas mentioned above.

Studies are being hindered at present because the General Ground Water Organization is preoccupied with private well drilling. Private wells comprise 64 percent of the total wells drilled in a month.

Therefore, we believe the General Ground Water Organization must stop drilling wells less than 200 meters deep. To enable the private sector to drill wells, we believe the private-sector drilling companies must be subsidized through the importation of heavy drilling equipment with pumps and lining and filtering tubes by a government department to be sold at a reasonable price while fixing the costs for drilling and installing pumps.

This helps the process of utilizing the ground water by citizens and those wishing to cultivate private land. Furthermore, the General Ground Water Organization can turn to making studies and actually supervising the work of the private-sector companies.

Finally, we would like to say that scientific and well-considered ground-water utilization will lead to higher fertility and greater benefits from the Euphrates and Tigris Valley, the cradle of ancient civilization.

12502

CSO: 4004/436

LEBANON

PATRIARCH DISCUSSES DANGERS TO CHRISTIANITY

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 6 Jul 85 pp 17-18

[Interview with Patriarch Ignatius Hazim by Basim al-Mu'allim in Los Angeles: "We Reject the Logic of the Christian Front and the Islamic Front in Lebanon"; date not specified]

[Text] In the American city of Los Angeles I met with His Beatitude Patriarch Ignatius Hazim who was touring a number of states visiting his congregations.

Patriarch Hazim infuriated the American press with his bold statements about the crisis of the hijacked American airliner. Some American reporters went almost as far as to describe the patriarch as both anti-Semitic and anti-Christian following his frank and candid statements about their new "crusade" and their anti-Arab policies, which are against all Arabs, Muslims and Christians alike.

This interview with Patriarch Hazim reveals the Eastern Christian attitude toward the policy of the West, U.S. policy in particular. It also reveals this policy's hostility toward the Arabs, both Christians and Muslims.

[Question] Your statements about the American plane hijacking and the holding of its passengers and crew in Beirut aroused negative reactions in the American press. American officials were not happy with them.

[Answer] My statements were not as harsh as they alleged. They were clear. I repeated them yesterday and will repeat them tomorrow. Their upshot was that it seemed to me as though the hostage issue was detached from all the other frameworks in the Middle East and the other issues that were mentioned in general.

I said: "How can they mention the hostages on the airplane and not mention, for instance, the more than 700 Lebanese held hostage? Why did not anyone in the world say a single word about them?"

I also said: "America is Israel's ally and works for it without reservation, as everyone can see. This is the reality. O.K., you Americans, why did you

not do anything? Is it because the 40 persons are human beings and the 700 persons are not?"

Is the hijacking of 40 persons more serious than hijacking of 700 persons?

We do not support hijacking in any form. However, we see no reason not to look at things clearly and objectively.

The fact is that the 700 Lebanese hostages held in Israel are held by America because Israel is America.

What are all the weapons and billions of dollars the U.S. gives to Israel for? Is it so Israel can dress our wounds, or is it for our entertainment?

Why doesn't the world admit that hijacking comes under the heading of "effect" while the cause is American-Israeli policy toward our people. The correct solution is not to find a solution to the American hostage crisis only, but a solution to its causes as well.

[Question] When the Americans heard this kind of talk, they were shocked because it was said by a Christian clergyman, specifically the head of the biggest church in the Arab East, at a time when they were trying to portray the crisis as an action by "radical Shi'ite Muslims" who are against "America, civilization and the Christians." How do you reply to that?

[Answer] We reject this interpretation and these theses. We know that if hijacking is an act of terrorism, the hijackers are not the only terrorists. Those who hijack more are greater terrorists than others. We want a fair attitude and a humane vision toward all these issues.

As for their claim that this act is anti-Christian, it is a false allegation because America does not carry the Bible for us.

[Question] In what sense?

[Answer] Where is the Christian aspect in American policy toward us and our causes? I personally told one of the American ambassadors in our region that "this area for 5,000 years has had the unique distinction of being in a state of constant dialogue for the meeting of civilizations in it. It eliminated the lack of consideration for the spiritual aspects, which has contributed to shaping the Middle East's profound character by following short-sighted policies and affecting changes not in anyone's interest. By this I mean American policies.

"When the possibility of dialogue is removed from the Middle East, the area will lose a large part of its personality and its fundamental principles. The Middle East will not mean oil.

"There is more than oil.

"America should be the last one to claim that those who do not agree with it do not agree with Christianity. It, that is, America, is the last one with the right to make such a claim."

[Question] Your beatitude, do you not think that the Americans, by following the programs and patterns we have witnessed in our area, are carrying out Western colonialist schemes against our people and our civilization?

[Answer] Force has a special logic. Wherever force is found, talk turns into power. America cannot turn into a private charitable organization when talking about issues in which it has an interest. It is a superpower and therefore can only talk with us or to us from above. History is clear. Who consulted us about Israel's existence? Who asked us for our opinion about whether it should be created? It is as though we are not God's creatures. In Oklahoma, I told them: "As far as America is concerned, God created us by mistake and not by will. Others, God Almighty created because they were pure. This is how America deals with the human beings of our region."

Therefore, I think that this mental attitude, which I call the attitude of force, cannot look upon weaker beings as equals. This is the basis of colonialism.

[Question] You have met several American spiritual officials during this visit. How do you perceive their understanding of Christianity as put forth by the Arab Antiochan Church?

[Answer] They are not informed enough about the Eastern Church. The entire country of America is new. It is new in matters of heritage and in its Christianity. It is still in its infancy as far as Eastern Christianity is concerned.

Ever since the Crusades, there had been a growing belief that Christianity came from outside the Middle East. It had to be exported to the Middle East from someplace.

This is the logic of the Crusades and the missionaries, a logic which is still used in many fields. I believe that to understand Christian geography and Christian history one must turn to history and to the human beings in Bethlehem, Jerusalem and South Lebanon. The Americans do not understand these things. Unfortunately, some people in our Middle East are not aware of them either.

I always used to be surprised at how Eastern Christianity, this power, is still somewhat subdued. I hope I will not be misunderstood. I am speaking the language of power as though a dialogue with Christianity is impossible unless it is outside the area, even though the Christianity which came from the outside came in the form of an adversary.

[Question] Did not some Arab Christians play roles which constituted a political extension of Western civilization? I hope my question will not be understood to mean that I approve of some Arab orders' insistence on conducting a dialogue with the Christianity which came from the outside, considering it, the Eastern Christianity, as an extension for foreigners.

[Answer] Yes, and this is very unfortunate. This is a disaster. Suffice it to look at the Eastern churches, our church, the Syrian Church, the Armenian

Church, the Coptic Church, to see how they have been divided into a part which has remained Eastern and other parts which came from a purely Eastern point of departure.

Therefore, we have Christians whose thinking goes back to points of departure outside the East. This is a reality and we hope to confer the original Eastern character on all these groups and return them to our original heritage.

[Question] Israel benefits from this split vision and the fragmentation of the Christian ranks you are talking about. Do you think Israel has planned toward this end?

[Answer] My belief is that there has been a very long process that has prepared Western and foreign Christianity for Judaization. I also believe that there are groups called Christians who are almost without a Christ and without a Bible because they firmly adhere to ancient times and to the Old Testament. This means they belong to Judaism. These groups are called Christian but they preach Judaism.

World Zionism advocated this matter. These things cannot be coincidental. I perceive that this long-term preparation has been one of preparation for the existence of Israel.

It is not enough to explain this perception to the Americans. We must undertake missionary roles to refute and change it.

[Question] Can the Antiochan Church, its size in the Americas notwithstanding, succeed in this alone?

[Answer] I am not speaking about our church only, but about all the Eastern churches and the Arabs in general. We have 800,000 Antiochan Orthodox in the U.S. and Canada and more than 5 million in Central and South America. It is true that we are a minority, but we are not really a minority as you can see. We hope to influence them in order to create an honorable nature in keeping with the nature of our presence in our country, an honorable, mature, truthful and truly patriotic nature which can then be apostolic.

[Question] You said that "the Antiochan Church must play a universal role among the various Arab communities in the Americas and the mother country and about the role of the church there. They have called for Christian unity in Lebanon. What is your position on that?

[Answer] The calls were not for Christian unity, but rather for the formation of a Christian front, namely, the adoption of belligerency and disputes. This has placed the Christians in one trench and the Muslims in another. Behind this call is sick thinking as though the Muslims and the Christians are two opposites which do not attract.

We totally reject this logic. We like the call for a spiritual unity among the Christians and we call for unity in the universal sense among Christians of all sects and Muslims of all sects. Lebanon lives as one people, and diversity and multiplicity are two of its characteristics. This is a very

good thing and we believe in the need to keep Lebanon in one piece so that it may preserve its personality. The groups, and indeed sectarianism, in Lebanon are there due to our lack of the kind of government we desire, namely the legitimate government which speaks, alone, in the name of law and order whereby no one may struggle to legislate his own laws and system.

We aspire to one citizenship for all the residents of Lebanon.

[Question] In view of Lebanon's current ailing situation, is this concept of yours anything more than rice?!

[Answer] We do not consider the present situation to be eternal. We have the right to hope and to follow the road of hope. The future is not circumscribed within any particular conception. Therefore, allow us to hope at least.

12502

CSO: 4404/436

LEBANON

LEADER OF HIZBALLAH DISCUSSES PARTY POLICIES

Beirut LA REVUE DU LIBAN in French 27 Jul-3 Aug 85 pp 22-23

[Interview with Hizballah Leader Abbas Moussawi; date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] Since the repeated attacks against the Multinational Force in Beirut in 1983, which ultimately led to the departure of that force, the West has been subject to increasingly frequent acts of terrorism carried out by the Islamic Jihad, a movement behind which are reportedly the "Madmen of God" of the "Hizballah."

What are their demands? What are their aims and goals? These are issues about which we directly questioned this strange party's leader, Abbas Moussawi, who also expressed his views on the country's present economic situation, at a time when it must henceforth be taken into account....

[Question] What is the origin of your party's name, the "Hizballah?"

[Answer] This term is found in the Koran, but before I begin I would like to clarify a very important point: we are not a party in the traditional sense of the term. Every Moslem is automatically a member of the "Hizballah," thus it is impossible to list our membership, for example.

[Question] What are your main demands? In other words, why did you establish this movement?

[Answer] We believe that the Middle East has always been under the eye of two watchdogs of U.S. imperialism: the shah of Iran and Israel. Thank God we were able to get rid of the shah, but our program of expansion to the [Persian] Gulf has been delayed because of the Iraqi-Iranian War incited by Saddam Husayn (the Iraqi president). As for Israel, it is simply the cancer of the Middle East, an evil that we must find a way to get rid of.

We are an oppressed people. We have been attacked from the air, from the sea and on land. Many innocent people, including women, children and the elderly, have been killed but the world is still unconvinced that this is a real massacre, and when these victims revolt against U.S. interests or attack Israeli positions, they are accused of terrorism.

When Israel and the United States invaded our country, they thought of it as though they were just taking a sightseeing tour. They are considered innocent, while the downtrodden trying to defend themselves are terrorists! As I have already said, we are not a party but a people who have the right to defend themselves. No one can deny it.

[Question] A sometimes unjust defense, when you attack innocent people!

[Answer] There are mistakes sometimes, of course, but our actions are justifiable because we are defending all Moslems in Lebanon against the United States and Israel. I don't understand why the whole world becomes indignant if an American is killed, whereas no one reacts, for example, to the massacre of Bir-el-Abed or to the abuses to which southern Lebanon has been subjected. Why aren't these actions also considered unjust?

The most glaring injustice committed by the United States is the falsification and distortion of the real facts of the Lebanese War. This is why we hold the United States responsible for our so-called unjust actions, which are only an oppressed people's acts of self-defense. We also hold Israel and the Lebanese Christians responsible for them.

[Question] To be brief, was the taking of American and French hostages in Lebanon an act of terrorism or of self-defense?

[Answer] You should put this question to the U.S. and French Governments. Why are they meddling in Lebanon's internal affairs? Why are they oppressing the Moslem people? It is they, the persecutors, who are in the wrong.

[Question] Do you have direct relations with those who are oppressed?

[Answer] With those who are oppressed and with those who are underprivileged.

[Question] Are those oppressed persons responsible for taking hostages?

[Answer] Only the United States, France and Israel are responsible, since they provoke such actions by their hateful policy regarding the Moslem people and their barbaric practices, whose consequences they must accept.

[Question] What are your relations with the Guardians of the Iranian Revolution?

[Answer] They are not the Guardians of the Iranian Revolution, they are the Guardians of the Islamic Revolution. It is perfectly normal for us to maintain good relations with all Moslems, since we are all brothers and are fighting for the same cause. Any attempt to separate us from our Iranian brothers or from Moslems in general is a crime.

[Question] Finally, what is your position concerning Israel?

[Answer] It is clear that Israel has persecuted our people, which is why we have encouraged military operations against it and have helped southern

Lebanon's youth to arm themselves for that purpose. In the future, we will wipe out every trace of Israel in Palestine. The "Hizballah" has participated in all actions against Israeli forces in southern Lebanon, particularly in so-called suicide operations, which we prefer to call acts of martyrdom.

[Question] Do you consider yourselves responsible for the departure of the Multinational Force from Lebanon?

[Answer] All Moslems contributed to that victory. The two martyrs who carried out the main operations against their positions (on 23 October 1983) represented the opinion of all Moslems. The Multinational Force should not have acted the way it did: when you knock on someone's door, you must wait for an answer before entering.

[Question] The issue of the Palestinian camps has been front-page news for a long time. Are you in favor of the self-defense of Palestinians in the camps?

[Answer] The battle of the camps has been a war against the people. We support Palestinian Moslems just as we support the entire population of the camps, women, children and the innocent, which is why we consider the bombing of the camps to be a crime. The bombing of the southern outskirts from positions in the mountains was also a crime, for those inhabitants had already paid a heavy price.

The battle of the camps was merely a secondary conflict and no Moslem should have gotten involved in it. We did everything possible to end the fighting and also to avoid similar clashes in the Bekaa Valley, and I think we succeeded. Such conflicts only serve the interests of our enemies: Israel, the United States and the Kataeb.

We are Moslems and it is our duty to protect the interests of all Moslems, but especially the interests of those people whose land has been pillaged by Israel. We must help them through our faith but also with military resources, by fighting Israel. However, those weapons should not be used for bombing the southern outskirts or for parading in the streets of Beirut, as was the case before 1982. We must now appropriately plan our struggle against Israel.

[Question] Then the Palestinians should remain armed....

[Answer] Lebanon is brimming with all kinds of weapons. Everyone is armed. Why confiscate weapons from some groups and not from others? If a decision is to be made in this regard, we should act with justice and disarm absolutely everyone. For we do not have the right to take weapons away from the Palestinians when Elie Hobeika is only 500 meters away. There have already been massacres in the camps and we no longer have the right to disarm them.

[Question] A final question: What do you think of the problem of Jezzini?

[Answer] That is another delayed-action bomb left behind by Israel to tarnish our image. Israel retained control of the valuable asset of Jezzin with a view to future negotiations with Lebanon, in order not to fail totally, as in Nakoura.

11915

CSO: 4419/14

AFGHANISTAN

MUJAHIDIN STEP UP OFFENSIVE AGAINST KABUL

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 14 Aug 85 p 2

[Text]

The Afghan Mujahideen have stepped up their offensive against Kabul, bombarding the Afghan capital with rockets and fire bombs.

Hundreds of troops have been deployed around the city to repel the attacks, western sources said Tuesday.

The diplomatic sources, speaking on condition they not be identified further said, reports from Kabul described almost nightly Mujahideen attacks on government and Soviet military installations in and around the city.

Government security forces have conducted massive house-to-house searches across the city to try to unearth the Mujahideen hideouts and arms dumps, they said.

The Mujahideen offensive against Kabul began in late July with a major attack on the Soviet air base at Kabul airport. The city has come under repeated attack at night since then, and the Islamic freedom fighters have fought security troops in the streets in hit-and-run battles.

The Mujahideen fired missiles last Wednesday night at the headquarters of the 8th Division of the Afghan Army near Kharga Lake and also

attacked a nearby government artillery position. Fighting raged for more than two hours, with Soviet artillery firing repeatedly at suspected Mujahideen positions.

The next night, the sources said the Mujahideen fired at least 15 rockets at military targets in the north of the city and reports indicated that 70 to 150 government soldiers were killed or wounded.

18 Missile Attacks

Last Friday night, an attack was launched against the Soviet military complex around the Darulaman Palace and at least 10 missiles slammed into the area, the sources said. Six government soldiers were killed when the missile exploded near a guardpost, they said.

The Mujahideen also attacked government outposts at the outskirts of the city, with at least one position being overrun, the sources said.

The communist government and Soviet military commanders have redoubled to the attacks by sharply increasing security in the capital. Security troops have searched thousands of buildings and homes across the city, hunting for the Mujahideen and arms stores, the sources said.

Security troops have found at least one cache of heavy weapons and feared others were hidden around the city, the sources said.

Soviet helicopter troops supported by helicopter gunships have mounted strong search-and-destroy missions in rural areas near the city to try to hunt down the Islamic freedom fighters. The sources said Soviet armored columns also have been moving out of the city during the day to back up the search efforts, they said.

Soviet helicopters, apparently equipped with special night vision equipment, have been flying patrols over Kabul at night to help Soviet artillery locate the positions of Mujahideen rocket launchers, the sources said.

Panjsher Fighting Tapered Off

In other developments in Afghanistan, the sources said fighting in the Panjsher Valley in the north of the country has tapered off in recent days and there has been scattered fighting in other parts of the country.

The Mujahideen appear to have withdrawn from the western city of Herat after weeks of fighting in order to avoid being encircled by

Soviets and government forces the sources said. One report said the Mujahideen had taken between 70 and 80 Soviet and government soldiers prisoner, the sources added.

The Mujahideen are fighting to oust the communist government, which is supported by an estimated 115,000 Soviet troops. Western reporters are banned from Afghanistan and reports from inside the country can rarely be checked.

CSO: 4600/615

AFGHANISTAN

AMERICAN MUSLIMS FIGHTING ALONGSIDE MUJAHIDIN

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 6 Aug 85 p 4

[Text] London, 8 Aug (Dispatches)--American Muslims are fighting alongside anti-government guerrillas in Afghanistan to overthrow the Soviet-backed regime, a British newspaper reported Monday.

A DAILY TELEGRAPH reporter, reporting from war-torn Logar Province in Afghanistan, said he interviewed a Muslim U.S. army veteran from Boston who has spent the past 4 months helping to organize training programs for Muslim fighters.

The TELEGRAPH also reported that U.S. Muslims have been sighted "at a number of locations" around Afghanistan and that guerrillas have set up a clandestine system to smuggle in volunteer fighters from abroad through Pakistan into Afghanistan.

The TELEGRAPH reported that Akhbar Shah, a 34-year-old American Muslim from Boston who was in the army and marine corps, said in an interview he had seen a further two dozen American Muslims while travelling in Afghanistan.

Shah, cradling a Russian AK-47 assault rifle, said he has fought against Soviet and Afghan troops on at least two occasions, the paper reported.

He said on his return to the United States in the autumn he plans to complete a lecture tour of 10 major cities to procure financial aid and support for the guerrillas, the TELEGRAPH said.

"These people need to be trained how to fight," he told the TELEGRAPH. "Many American Muslims fought in Vietnam so we know how to help them."

He said his religion obliged him to fight in a jihad or holy war against the Soviet occupiers of Afghanistan.

The TELEGRAPH reported that according to fundamentalist interpretations of the Koran, all believers in Islam must fight in a jihad at least once in their lives.

The Americans reportedly in Afghanistan are there independently and the TELEGRAPH quoted an American diplomat who refused to be identified as condemning their presence.

"If they are truly fighting with the Mujahideen (the guerrillas) then they are playing a very dangerous game," the TELEGRAPH quoted the Pakistan-based diplomat as saying.

AFGHANISTAN

HUNDREDS OF SOVIETS REPORTEDLY KILLED IN PANJSHER

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 8 Aug 85 pp 1-2

[Text]

Weary
Soviet and Afghan troops in dusty trucks returned to the capital after weeks of fighting in Panjsher Valley that has clogged Kabul's hospitals, western diplomats said Tuesday.

"The latest Soviet and Afghan offensive that began in June into the Panjsher Valley appears to be over," one diplomat said, adding that "The weary troops have returned to the capital in their dusty vehicles."

She said a diplomat from Eastern Europe, based in Kabul, confirmed that the "offensive has ended."

The diplomat's reports could not be independently verified because western journalists are banned from entering the country.

A Soviet armored column of more than 250 vehicles returned on July 29 to the Soviet military complex at Darul Aman in Kabul from the northern part of Panjsher, one diplomat said, and Afghan troops came back two days later.

Hundreds of Soviet and Afghan troops were killed and many were wounded in the offensive, the diplomats had reported earlier.

"The medical shortage has been so acute in Kabul that

foreigners have been denied the use of main hospitals," one diplomat said.

Soviet troops, failed to dislodge or seize the military initiative from the Mujahideen a diplomat said.

The Soviets withdrew, the diplomats said, confident that the Mujahideen would not be able to mount another attack quickly.

But the diplomats received reports that the Salang road — the major highway from the Soviet Union to Kabul — was closed on Aug. 1 and 2, probably due to Mujahideen attack.

"The Soviets do not plan to extend their control in the valley but to seize the military initiative from Mujahideen," a diplomat said.

The strategic valley, 40 miles (65 km) north of Kabul, opens onto major supply routes between the capital and the Soviet border. Soviet and Afghan troops last year occupied the lower valley but failed to drive out the Islamic freedom fighters from the upper valley.

Security measures in Kabul were stepped up as the Mujahideen rocked the city with bomb and rocket attacks during the past week, the diplomats said.

House-to-house searches

were undertaken in many areas for hidden weapons, one diplomat said.

She said Soviet helicopters also conducted a large number of raids against suspected Mujahideen positions in the city.

The Islamic fighters fired rockets in the Darul Aman area, where a Soviet military complex is located, hitting a truck and jeep and killing six Afghan soldiers, the diplomats said.

CSO: 4600/613

AFGHANISTAN

COOPERATIVES TO HELP PEOPLE BECOME SELF-SUFFICIENT

Kabul DEHQAN in Dari 28 Jun 85 p 6

[Text] Following the victory of the great Sawr revolution, particularly in its new and mature stage, political power in our revolutionary country belongs to the workers under the leadership of the Democratic Khalq Party of Afghanistan. From the beginning of its creation, the aims and hopes of the Democratic Khalq Party of Afghanistan, the champion and leader of the people of Afghanistan, have been reflected in its progressive and revolutionary programs which are fully clear to the toilers of our country. The Party has always led the people towards well-being and prosperity and, regarding the economy of the nation, has by means of careful planning, provided for the welfare of all the inhabitants of a free and revolutionary Afghanistan. It has secured great victories for the people. One of the most valuable gifts of the Sawr revolution to the people is the growth and development of the cooperative movement in the country.

The creation of the union of the farmers of DRA on 11 Dec 1980, is a guarantee of success in establishing cooperatives throughout the country. This strengthens the unity of peasants and workers and all other urban and rural laborers and is essential in strengthening the material foundations of the national and democratic Sawr revolution.

The Khalq Democratic Party of Afghanistan helps the activities of cooperatives in accordance with the economic and political goals of the DRA government to improve the national economy and raise the standard of living of laborers. With the continuing financial help of the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, from the time the union of farmers cooperatives was established in the country up to now, 24 provincial unions, one urban union, 31 district and divisional unions including 170 consumer and handicraft industries' cooperative with a membership of 53,752 and capital share of 28.227,700 afghanis have been formed. It should be noted that up to now, 200 shops for selling consumer goods have been established in the country. In order to promote the consumers cooperative movement, 500 million Afghanis were put into circulation. In order to bring to maturity consumer cooperatives and thus raise the standard of living of laborers especially the farmers, it is planned to put into circulation 555 million Afghanis in 1364 [21 Mar 1985 - 20 Mar 1986].

At present, more than 10,000 members of consumer and handicrafts industries' cooperatives are enrolled in groups defending the revolution, national forces and frontier units and militias. They are defending the revolution bravely with weapons. Also, in order to eradicate illiteracy more than 20,000 persons are enrolled in 1865 literary classes arranged through consumer and handicrafts industries' cooperatives.

9863

CSO: 4665/125

AFGHANISTAN

ONE HUNDRED FIFTY THOUSAND TONS WHEAT TO BE IMPORTED

Kabul DEHQAN in Dari 30 Jun 85 p 8

[Text] As our readers know, a large quantity of wheat arrived in Kabul and was sent to the warehouses of the central silo. Engineer Mohammad Ya'qub, general administrator of silos, told DEHQAN's correspondent, "The wheat which arrived in Kabul and is being transferred to warehouses was sent to our country under the 400-40020-5032-5033 agreements between our friend USSR and JDA [Democratic Republic of Afghanistan]. In the current year also, an agreement for 150,000 tons of wheat has been signed with our friend USSR.

By the end of this year, this wheat will be transferred to the port of (Heyratan). By 10 June, 108,000 tons of wheat had arrived in the port of Heyratan 50,113 tons of which was sent to the silo in Kabul and the rest to silos in Balkh, Pol-e Khomri and the Heyratan Port. One hundred thousand tons of wheat received under the agreement with the USSR will be given as free aid, 44,600 tons as amortized debt and 5,400 will be bought outright.

In the current year, 155,000 tons of wheat will be made into flour in the mills of Kabul, Pol-e Komri and Balkh and sent to the bread plant to be baked into various kinds of bread for distribution to coupon holders, the armed forces and others. Thirty four thousand tons of wheat is to be purchased domestically. In the current year, the plan calls for 184,000 tons of wheat to be obtained from both domestic and foreign sources."

9863
CSO: 4665/125

AFGHANISTAN

IRRIGATION IMPROVES 750,000 HECTARES OF LAND

Kabul DEHQAN in Dari 24 Jun 85 p 2

[Text] In order to provide water for irrigation and solve the problems encountered by farmers in obtaining water and establishing water rights, irrigation departments have been established in all the provinces, subprovinces and tribal areas.

Irrigation departments have constructed irrigation systems in the villages and districts of the country and are safeguarding and supervizing dam-heads, the mouths of streams, streams and canals.

Irrigation departments utilize the animals and manual implements of the farmers to dig and dredge the streams so that there will be adequate water available when needed for cultivation.

The number of irrigation departments is increasing in the districts and, as of the end of 1363 [21 Mar 1984 - 20 Mar 1985], were irrigation departments established in 20 districts. These departments took active parts in the distribution of water to the villages and hamlets.

As reported by a source connected with the General Directorate of the Department of Water and Preservation and Safeguarding of Irrigation Systems, last year 1,223 employees of the Irrigation departments were engaged in irrigation services throughout the country; 194 bulldozers, shovels, transport and hauling facilities, mobile workshops and waterpumps of the irrigation departments were placed at the disposal of farmers to be used for building irrigation systems and preserving and protecting these systems. In 1363 [21 Mar 1984-20 Mar 1985], as a result of the efforts of the employees of the Irrigation Department and cooperation by the farmers, irrigation works and the preservation and supervision of irrigation systems exceeded the planned number.

Last year, 22,998,905 cubic meters of land was worked on by animal labor and 876,508 cubic meters was done mechanically. Other work accomplished included 123,400 cubic metres of fortifications of dam heads, 14,800 cubic meters of stone work, 662 cubic meters of poured concrete and 1,302 tripods were utilized for fortifying earthen dam heads.

In 1363 [21 Mar 1984-20 Mar 1985], as a result of irrigation services, the irrigation situation of more than 700 hectares of land was improved, 211

peasant committees composed of those benefitting from the water were formed in different irrigation systems and 374 water distributors were elected by the farmers. The representatives of farmers committees participated actively with 68 groups engaged in democratic agricultural reforms and confirmed the land ownership rights of farmers for 32,700 deeds.

According to the aforementioned source, in the current year a plan was drawn up in cooperation with the local authorities to preserve and supervise irrigation systems. According to this plan, in 1364 [21 Mar 1985-20 Mar 1986] 2,033 million cubic meters of canals, drains and springs will be dredged and cleaned by means of animal labor and 795,000 cubic meters mechanically.

In addition, the plan provides for 1,450 cubic meters of poured concrete, 3,700 cubic meters of stone work with mortar, 6,600 cubic meters of dry [without mortar] stone work and 12,700 cubic meters of repairs and fortification of dam heads.

In the current year, 52 new farmer committees were formed and 52 water distributors were elected by the farmers to organize irrigation matters based on the water rights of farmers and to supervise the irrigation systems. Fifteen new irrigation departments were created in the districts.

Additionally, the deeds for the ownership of 50,000 pieces of land were confirmed.

According to projections based on the 1364 [21 Mar 1985-20 Mar 1986] plan, irrigation of 750,000 hectares of land should be improved.

9863

CSO: 4665/125

INDIA

ANALYST DISCUSSES PROBLEMS IN INDIA-PRC RELATIONS

Madras THE HINDU in English 4 Aug 85 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Aug. 3.

After an interval of 10 months, India and China have started sounding each other about mutually convenient dates for the next round of official-level talks in Delhi to keep up the protracted dialogue on the border problem.

As it is their turn this time to suggest suitable dates, the Chinese have proposed that the talks be held in October subject to Indian convenience.

But the Government of India has indicated that early November would be more suitable since the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, and his foreign policy advisers will be away for almost a fortnight in October, attending the Commonwealth conference in Bahamas and later the 40th anniversary session of the U.N. General Assembly in New York, besides a brief official visit to Britain.

What is really important is not the timing of the next round of border talks which are due to be resumed after a year, since the last round was held in Beijing in October, 1984. It is still uncertain whether the two sides which have been discussing over the last four years the principles and procedures for arriving at a comprehensive settlement would be able to come to grips with the substantive aspects of the border problem during the next round in Delhi.

Chinese readiness: The Chinese are prepared to continue the current series of official-level talks for what they are worth, if India is keen on carrying on this dialogue as an annual ritual to provide an opportunity to both sides to keep exploring the possibilities of a negotiated settlement. But they have indicated their preference for elevating these talks to the political level, starting with an exchange of visits by top leaders of the two Governments.

In talking of a package settlement based on the existing positions held by the two countries in all sectors of the disputed border, the Chinese have been pressing for what is called a comprehensive solution that could be worked out only at the highest political level by the two sides. They see little prospect of a breakthrough at the official level since both delegations with their limited briefs tend to speak de-

fensively from their entrenched positions.

Time not ripe for Rajiv's visit: But the Government of India feels that the time is not yet ripe for a visit to China by the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, in the absence of any significant hint or gesture from Beijing of a readiness to negotiate a fair and equitable border settlement that could be deemed to be a just solution, taking into account the legitimate interests of both sides. The Prime Minister's advisers are not averse to the idea of a return visit by a Foreign Minister of India in an appropriate context, if some progress is made at the next round of official-level talks in moving forward from semantic to substantive discussions on the basic aspects of the border dispute.

Major stumbling block: Though Sino-Indian relations have improved considerably in recent years in other spheres, the border dispute remains a major stumbling block to any real progress towards complete normalisation. A new complicating factor in this uneasy relationship has been the reported Chinese assistance to Pakistan in developing nuclear capability which would seriously affect the present balance of power in the sub-continent.

Bid to influence Nepal: Another sour note has been struck by the persistent Chinese attempts to extend their influence in Nepal to the detriment of India's traditional links with this Himalayan kingdom. The ambitious Chinese bid to secure the contract for building a new road link, connecting the Indian-built East-West highway with the Chinese-built North-South road, has naturally caused some concern in Delhi since it would bring the Chinese road-building teams to the vicinity of Bihar border with all its political overtones.

CSO: 4600/1855

INDIA

HINDU ANALYST ON RAJIV'S GOVERNING STYLE

Review of Government Performance

Madras THE HINDU in English 3 Aug 85 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Aug. 2

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, today reviewed the performance of the Ministry of External Affairs at a prolonged meeting with its main functionaries as part of a wider exercise he has undertaken to assess the accomplishments of his Government.

The two-week long review, which commenced yesterday, with an in-depth survey of the working of the Departments of Electronics and Environment, and covered External Affairs and Tourism and Civil Aviation today, will extend to all the other ministries and departments to give Mr. Rajiv Gandhi an idea of the strong and weak points of his administration.

The fact that the conclusion of this performance review will be coinciding with the end of the current monsoon session of Parliament is causing a flutter in Congress (I) circles here, because of the feeling that it is probably connected with the impending Cabinet expansion which will inevitably involve some changes in the composition of the present team. It is also creating some anxiety at the higher levels of the bureaucracy because of the fear that some secretarial heads also might roll if the Prime Minister is dissatisfied with the functioning of their ministries, whatever the inadequacies of the present political dispensation.

The review, according to knowledgeable people here, is aimed at identifying and rectifying both the structural deficiencies of the existing set up in several ministries, notably in ministries like External Affairs which have to deal with sensitive political issues, and the ability and experience of those entrusted with difficult tasks like maintenance of internal security, economic management and welfare measures. The Prime Minister is reported to be quite satisfied with the overall performance of his Government in the last seven months, although he feels that there is need for improvement in several spheres to live up to his electoral promises to the people.

The Prime Minister continues to repose considerable faith in the administrative comprehension and political understanding displayed by his three senior colleagues—the Defence Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, the Finance Minister, Mr. V. P. Singh, and the Home Minister, Mr. S. B. Chavan—who, as members of the all-powerful Political Affairs Committee headed by him, function as an Inner Cabinet for all practical purposes. But the absence of an equally senior political personality at the helm of External Affairs, followed by the inordinate prolongation of the ad hoc allocation of important ministries like Commerce and Industry to other Ministers already overburdened with their heavy charges, has tended to deprive the Cabinet of an equitable distribution of the work load, besides imposing additional responsibilities on a young Prime Minister who is required to provide higher direction to the entire Government.

The review of the functioning of the various ministries and departments has been initiated by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi to get an idea of the many anomalies and deficiencies both in the choice of Ministers and senior officials as well as the allocation of work to them. But in a party like the Congress (I) that is so bereft of talent, he has to make do with the human material at his disposal in running the Government.

So what Mr. Rajiv Gandhi is aiming at is not a Cabinet of supermen, but a set of colleagues of average ability and integrity who can be depended upon to help improve the image of his Government by stepping up the quality of the administration.

A Government that works, whether slowly or faster, can win and retain the confidence of the people not by playing musical chairs but by adopting a more responsive attitude. The Ministers, from the Prime Minister down, have to be more accessible, without treating security as a smokescreen even in these troublous times for shunning contact with the common people.

Advice to Governors

Madras THE HINDU in English 5 Aug 85 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Aug. 4.

As part of a conscious effort to improve Centre-State relations, the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, has advised Governors to insist on new Chief Ministers facing the Assemblies at the earliest possible opportunity, within a matter of days rather than weeks, in the event of party splits or toppling bids leading to change of governments.

Though the decision was taken at the Governors' conference last month, the Centre had kept this a secret because it evidently wanted to avoid the impression that the earlier policy of giving new Chief Ministers, inducted into office in questionable circumstances, enough time to muster support, was being reversed with an implied disapproval of what had been done in the past.

After the Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister, Mr. N. T. Rama Rao, was dismissed and Mr. N. Bhaskara Rao installed in power by the previous Governor, Mr. Ram Lal, without ascertaining whether the new Chief Minister had a majority support, the then Home Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, came out with the disingenuous theory that the Governor was under no constitutional obligation to compel Mr. Bhaskara Rao to face the Assembly soon. The argument was so astonishing that even the late Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, found it difficult to swallow the doctrine of supremacy of the Governor's subjective satisfaction, during the stormy debate in Parliament on the subject.

The present Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, who is relatively free from the hangovers of the previous toppling operations in

several States, where both the Congress (I) and non-Congress (I) Chief Ministers had been arbitrarily replaced by those more acceptable to the Centre, has been trying to evolve better conventions for regulating Centre-State relations. It was in pursuance of this new policy that he allowed Mr. N. T. Rama Rao and Mr. Ramakrishna Hegde to continue in office as heads of caretaker governments, after they sought dissolution of the Assemblies and opted for fresh elections.

At the recent Governors' conference, it was even suggested that new Chief Ministers inducted into office in controversial situations should be asked to face the Assemblies within a stipulated period of three or four days as a mandatory obligation. But it was decided that for practical reasons, it would be more desirable to let the Governors set an early date, without giving them three or four weeks to play politics and engage themselves in undesirable tactics to contrive a majority support.

The Prime Minister has been particularly keen on maintaining a good working relationship with all non-Congress (I) Chief Ministers to avoid the impression of any discrimination. The harsh attacks he made on some of them during the heat of the electoral campaigns have been forgotten and most of the non-Congress (I) Chief Ministers have been supporting his policies on matters relating to larger national interests.

It is against this background that he decided to evolve healthy conventions for regulating changes of Chief Ministers in States as a result of party splits or new coalitions. He utilised the opportunity of the Governors' conference to lay down the new rule

Approach to Asian Policy

Madras THE HINDU in English 9 Aug 85 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, 8 Aug--The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, has called a meeting of his top foreign policy advisers for a detailed review of the Sino-Indian relations, before the two countries start preparing for the next round of official-level talks towards the end of October or in early November on the border dispute.

He will be holding these in-depth discussions on China for the first time since his assumption of office, because he has been preoccupied all these months with other pressing problems.

As he is due to meet the Chinese Premier, Mr. Zhao Ziang, in New York in October during the U.N. General Assembly session, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi is keen on getting a full grasp of the complexities of the border problem. But, otherwise he has no plans to visit China before some progress has been made during the border talks at the lower level to justify the elevation of the dialogue to a political level between the heads of the two Governments.

Visit to Tokyo: The Prime Minister will, however, be paying a visit to Tokyo at the end of November to carry forward the current efforts for closer Indo-Japanese economic co-operation. Despite his two-week long foreign trip in October which will take him to the Bahamas for the Commonwealth conference and then to New York for the U.N. General Assembly's 40th anniversary session, he has decided to go to Japan in November while Parliament will be in session because of the great importance India is now attaching to industrial and technological cooperation with it.

Asian dimension to policy: After his landmark visits to Moscow and Washington, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has been keen on giving an Asian dimension to his foreign policy pursuits with a trip to Japan, before going next year to some friendly African countries to demonstrate India's continued solidarity with them. It would have been more appropriate to pay a brief visit to Beijing as well during his trip to Tokyo, but unfortunately, the border issue remains a major hurdle to such a gesture at this stage.

At the moment, he is concentrating heavily on the Sri Lanka tangle, taking a personal interest in the Indian efforts under way behind the scenes to bring about a lasting settlement of the Tamil problem. He has been in frequent contact with the Sri Lankan President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, urging him to come forward with more credible proposals than a rehash of his old scheme for limited devolution to meet the legitimate demands of the Tamil people.

Keen on quick results: An interesting feature of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's diplomatic style is that, as an activist, who is impatient for quicker results, he does not want to keep any issue in abeyance, if some progress could be made through renewed discussions. It is this attitude of mind that induced him to renew the suspended dialogue with Pakistan, send special emissaries to Nepal, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, to regain the lost initiatives and get things moving again.

It would not, therefore, be surprising if he accepts Mr. Jayewardene's invitation and pays a visit to Sri Lanka as well at an appropriate time, if the Thimpu talks hold out the promise of an accord on the Tamil problem. But it remains to be seen whether Mr. Jayewardene is going to shed his rigid postures and come forward with some imaginative ideas capable of meeting the basic Tamil demand for substantial autonomy for their linguistic region.

Pragmatic approach: As one who has been suddenly catapulted into the pivotal position of a Prime Minister in the most tragic circumstances, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has very skilfully transformed his own inexperience into a valuable asset by bringing in a fresh approach to the country's internal and external problems. His pragmatic approach to various issues has helped him to shed the rigidities of the past and display greater resilience without sacrificing the country's interest.

In dealing with the Sri Lanka issue, however, he has been taking a calculated risk in proceeding on the assumption that the very compulsions of this highly tangled situation will constrain Mr. Jayewardene to adopt a more receptive attitude and heed the Indian advice to arrive at an amicable settlement of the Tamil problem. The next few weeks will disclose to what extent Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has been right in his assessment of the Sri Lankan President's intentions.

Anticorruption Drive Planned

Madras THE HINDU in English 12 Aug 85 p 6

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

From G. K. Reddy

NEW DELHI, "Aug. 11.

The Centre is working on a big cleansing drive on the economic front to eradicate, or at least curtail drastically, the many malpractices that have crept over the years into Indian life, contaminating the country's politics, corroding its moral values, creating insufferable disparities and generating an atmosphere of permissiveness in which the profligate sections of society thrive on widespread corruption.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, who has been reviewing the performance of various ministries, is credited with the view that the fight against economic violations has to be carried on simultaneously at the political as well as administrative levels, first by breaking the nexus among politicians, bureaucrats and the business classes especially the new rich that are able to worm their way into the corridors of power and wield political influence.

Intensified crackdown: As the crackdown on the tax evaders, foreign exchange racketeers, hoarders and blackmarketeers is intensified to plug the loopholes in the economic system, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi is reported to be planning a parallel operation to stamp out political corruption by taking action against those misusing their powers of patronage for personal benefit. It would not be surprising if quite a few heads roll in the course of this drive both at the Centre and in the States as this two-pronged drive against permissiveness gathers momentum.

The Prime Minister, who has been in office for just seven months after his spectacular victory in the last elections, wants to complete his first year with a record of solid achievements that are not confined to political events like the Punjab settlement. He is reported to be keen that it should be marked by an all-round improvement in the quality of his Government, making life more tolerable for the common people.

Harsh measures: The intention is to come down heavily with harsh measures against the dissolute sections of society, particularly business classes that have not responded well to the recent budgetary concessions and continue

to indulge in various malpractices. The Government does not propose to placate them with further concessions other than rationalisation of the present tax structure, but it will continue to encourage genuine entrepreneurs in every possible way in the larger national interest.

The Prime Minister is reported to be greatly impressed by the stewardship of the Finance Minister, Mr. V. P. Singh, who has been taking some firm steps to enforce discipline on the economic front, intensify tax collections and trackdown the evaders with searches and seizures, while doing his best to provide relief to the non-privileged classes of people. The two are known to be working in close harmony in pressing forward with this effort to sanitise the country's socio-economic system by placing greater emphasis on ability and integrity in public administration, honesty and contentment in business life, and pride and accomplishment among professional men.

One of the very first things that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi did on becoming Prime Minister was to end the pernicious practice of collecting vast sums of blackmoney from big business houses to fight elections. But he has yet to take follow-up steps to prevent kickbacks from big foreign deals which are no less corrupting than black money donations.

Promising start: What is important is that the young Prime Minister with his own sense of values has made a promising beginning in controlling political corruption and intensifying the drive against the evils of tax evasion and black money generation. The many odious characters who have made enormous fortunes in recent years by exploiting their political links are now being kept at a distance and denied access to him.

The Prime Minister's advisers expect the full weight of this new crusade to be felt by the end of this year coinciding with the completion of his first year in office. The Government is expected to come forward with a series of drastic measures in the next few months to make the impact of this cathartic operation felt at all levels of society with any culprits facing the consequences of their infractions.

CSO: 4690/1851

INDIA

PAPERS REPORT ON MERGER OF MUSLIM PARTIES

Leaders Announce Merger

Madras THE HINDU in English 4 Aug 85 p 1

[Text]

CALCUT, Aug. 3.

Amid chants of 'taqbir' (praise of Allah), leaders of the Indian Union Muslim League (IUML) and the All-India Muslim League (AIML) today announced the merger of the two parties.

"We have been carrying on efforts for unity of the two parties in the last few days. By the grace of Allah today, we have accomplished unity. This is a historic day for us," Mr. Ibrahim Sulaiman Sait, All-India president of the IUML, announced at a press conference this evening. He said the decision to unite the parties was unanimous. The workers of both the parties will now work under the banner of the Indian Union Muslim League.

Resolution adopted: Following the announcement of the merger by Mr. Sait, a resolution adopted by the top leadership of both the parties was read out by Mr. K. Moideen Kutty Haji, State President of the AIML. It said: "It has been decided that the two Muslim League parties will from now on function and work as one. The decision to work unitedly has been taken in the context of the strong threats and challenges posed to this Muslim minority in the country as well as the cropping up of divisive forces which would endanger the unity and integrity of the nation."

"In order to safeguard the interest of the nation as well as those of the Muslim community, the two parties shall forgive and forget all that had happened in their relationship in the recent past and work unitedly under the banner of IUML."

Joint meeting: Mr. Moideen Kutty Haji announced in the resolution that a joint meeting of the State Councils of both the parties would be held in Calcutt on August 16. The meeting would decide on the future organisational set-up of the united party as well as other issues necessary to facilitate the smooth functioning of the party. Till then all public functions would be organised jointly. Syed Md. Ali Shiheb Thangal, State President of the IUML, said the League unity was inevitable in the face of increasing threats to the integrity of the nation and the Muslims.

Among the top leaders present on the occasion were Mr. B. V. Abdullah Koya, MP, Mr. Avukkader Kutty Naha, Deputy Chief Minister, Mr. E. Ahmed, Industry Minister, and Mr. Seethi Haji, MLA, all of IUML, Syed Ummer Baffakki Thangal, Mr. C. K. P. Cherla Mammukeyi and Mr. P. M. Abu Backer, all of AIML.

The merger brings the curtain down on an 11-year period of rivalry between the two League factions. It comes as a climax to the polemics between the AIML and its former ally, the CPI (M), over the Shariat.

Split in 1974: The undivided Muslim League split in 1974 when a dissident group met in Tellicherry on March 9 and 10 and decided to form the AIML. A key role in the parting of the ways was played by Mr. C. K. P. Cherla Mammukeyi. The seeds of dissent were sown at the time of the passing away of the highly respected Muslim leader, Syed Abdul Rahman Baffakki Thangal in 1974. The bone of contention between the leadership and 'rebels' concerned the decision regarding C. H. Mohammed Koya's nomination as the all-India General Secretary of the party. The nomination of Mr. P. K. Abdullah Koya as Rajya Sabha member was also resented by the rebels. The leadership turned down the rebels' demand to make Mr. P. M. Abu Backer, a Minister in the Achutha Menon Ministry. Matters came to a head when the rebels decided to sit with the Opposition. Later the AIML was formed, which became a constituent of the CPI (M) led Opposition Front.

Question of Cabinet expansion

Our Trivandrum Special Correspondent writes:

The Indian Union Muslim League has now become the second largest constituent in the ruling Front and with this, the question whether there will be any expansion of the State Cabinet to accommodate the new entrants has arisen.

The united League now has 18 members, but there are only three Ministers including the Deputy Chief Minister, Mr. K. Avukkader Kutty Naha, representing the IUML in the Cabinet.

The third largest party in the ruling front, the Kerala Congress, with 15 members, had four Ministers before the resignation, last month, of the Minister for Electricity, Mr. R. Balakrishna Pillai, following the admission of a *quo warranto* writ petition against him in the Kerala High Court. Mr. Pillai's resignation is conditional in that, according to him, he has stepped down "only till the case against him is disposed of."

Vacancy not filled: This position was reiterated by his party Chairman and Revenue Minister, Mr. P. J. Joseph, who said the other day that till the case was over, the vacancy caused by Mr. Pillai's exit would not be filled. The portfolios handled by Mr. Pillai are now being looked after by the Minister for Finance, Mr. K. M. Mani. Besides the four Ministerial berths, the Kerala Congress also holds the post of the Government Chief Whip with Cabinet rank. As against this, the now 18-strong IUML has only three Ministers and the Deputy Speakership of the Assembly.

Problems for Kerala Government

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 5 Aug 85 p 1

[Text] Trivandrum, 4 Aug--"Taqbir, taqbir," (praise be the name of Allah) shouted Muslims all over Kerala when the merger of the breakaway All-India Muslim League with the Indian Union Muslim League became known last night. But for the Congress (I)-led United Democratic Front Government of Mr K. Karunakaran in Kerala, the merger poses new problems.

The Muslim League has now become the second largest party in the ruling front with 18 members, edging out the Kerala Congress with 15 members to third position. The strength of the UDF itself has gone up to 79 against the Opposition Left Democratic Front's strength of 60 in the 141-member Assembly, in which one seat is vacant.

The Kerala Congress has four ministerial berths besides the post of the Chief Government Whip with Cabinet rank. As against this, the Muslim League has only three ministers, including the Deputy Chief Minister, Mr Avukaderkutty Naha, and the Deputy Speakership of the Assembly.

Primary Concern

Mr K. Moideenkutty Haji, who had been the president of the AIMUL, a constituent of the LDF, said the united league would not immediately stake its claim for additional berths in the Cabinet, for its primary concern was protection of the Shariat and extend it to include the criminal side also.

Already the Karunakaran Government had sacrificed its secular credentials several times to carry the IUMI with it. The merger has vastly increased the political clout of the Muslim League.

Announcing the merger accord in Calcutta last night, Mr Moideenkutty Haji said: "It has been decided that the two Muslim League parties will from now on function and work as one. The decision on work unitedly has been taken in the context of the strong threats and challenges posed to the Muslim minority in the country as well as the cropping up of divisive forces which would endanger the unity and integrity of the nation."

CPI(M)'s Stand

The merger of the two leagues was brought about by the CPI(M) taking a firm stand against the fundamentalist position of the league groups which found expression in the observance of "Shariat protection day" recently.

Surprisingly, more and more Muslim women, oppressed by the rigours of the Shariat, are turning to the Marxists. In Malappuram District, citadel of the league, 15 Muslim women, led by Mrs. Aisha, a social worker, went in a procession yesterday shouting slogans in support of the recent Supreme Court judgment on payment of maintenance to divorced women of their community. The Democratic Youth Federation of India, a Marxist front organization, has extended support to divorced Muslim women in indigent circumstances to file cases for maintenance against their former husbands, setting in motion a silent social revolution.

INDIA

GANDHI ADDRESSES POLICE, VISITS DEFENSE LABS

Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN in English 4 Aug 85 pp 1, 7

[Text] Hyderabad, 3 Aug--The Prime Minister today emphasized the need for changing the police system in the country to combat terrorism, the "first and foremost challenge facing India," reports PTI. "At the drop of a hat, we are calling in the paramilitary forces and the Army." The police system should be changed so that there would be no need for this, he said.

Addressing Indian Police service probationers at the Sardar Vallabhai National Police Academy here, Mr Rajiv Gandhi said the challenge was "tremendous" as there was terrorism in most parts of the country under one garb or the other, and "traditional methods do not work."

Urging the probationers to evolve new methods of thinking and technology to counter the various problems facing the country, Mr Gandhi said: "As we develop, the primary need or promise of any government is not development of vast projects, but it is basically law and order."

He said the government would wish to rely on the police entirely and urged them to accept the responsibility and deliver the goods. The police should function in such a manner that no other force should be required.

Exhorting the probationers to discharge their duties, he regretted that training at the academy was not "adequately advanced" and said that it was for them to see what was required, find out where they had fallen short and devise methods to overcome the shortcomings.

The Prime Minister said the police force was today under tremendous pressure as it had to face challenges like never before. He regretted that the police force was not paid enough attention and was even relegated to non-Plan position. Adequate interest had not been taken about training procedures, methods, equipment and modernization of systems, besides the development of the individual as a person, he said. All this had led to a "reduction in efficiency."

Interaction and involvement, the basic requirements of any training, were "sadly lacking" in almost all Indian institutions. Mr Gandhi said the government was trying to change all this in the next few years to make the police force much more effective.

He said the government would give all the necessary help to instill a new pride and thinking in the police force. Emphasizing the need for developing the right attitude and equipment for dealing with present-day circumstances, he asked: "Do the police today need a .303 rifle to kill somebody a mile away? Don't you think you should devise something specifically for the police that would not kill innocent people indiscriminately."

The Prime Minister arrived here this morning from Delhi by the special IAF aircraft on a day's visit. He was received at the airport by the Chief Minister, Mr N. T. Rama Rao, his Cabinet colleagues, the Speaker, Mr Narayana Rao, and other officials.

Mr Gandhi was accompanied by the Defence Minister, Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao, the Union Minister of State for Tourism and Civil Aviation, Mr Ashok Gehlot, and Mr P. Shiv Shankar, M.P.

A delegation of the Pradesh Congress (I) leaders, Mr V. Hanumantha Rao, joint secretary, PCC (I); Mr N. Yeltaiah, former M.P., and Mr B. Sammaiah, former minister, presented a memorandum to the Prime Minister on the Karamchedu incident. Mr Gandhi said he had not yet received the report on the visit of the Union Minister of State for Home Affairs, Mrs Ramdulari Sinha, to Karamchedu.

Later in the day, Mr Gandhi laid the foundation of a new Rs 1-crore research centre at the Defence Research and Development Laboratory on the outskirts of the city. He visited the three major defence laboratories here—the Defence Metallurgical Research Laboratory, the Defence Electronics Research Laboratory and the Defence Research and Development Laboratory.

In an address to employees of the defence laboratories, Mr Gandhi asked Indian scientists abroad to return home and help the country build and march ahead. "We are trying to make India strong and united," he said.

Referring to the Punjab issue, Mr Gandhi said the problem was solved and the State was marching towards progress. Any unresolved questions would be solved soon.

Mr Rajiv Gandhi evinced interest in the work of the laboratories, where he was shown work on top secret projects like electronic warfare, missiles and armour for battle tanks. At the DRDL, he watched the flight simulation of the Indian developed missile. A sample of titanium produced at the 100-ton capacity plant, the first of its kind in the country, developed by the DMRL, was presented to the Prime Minister by the laboratory director, Dr Rama Rao who explained the working of the lab. He also presented the Prime Minister with an idol of Nataraja, cast in aluminium in the laboratory.

The Prime Minister also spent about half-an-hour at the Hindustan Aeronautics Limited. He was taken around the complex and given a presentation by its chairman and managing director, Air Marshal M.S.D. Wollen.

In an informal chat with reporters at the airport, Mr Gandhi remarked that "India has too many festivals" when asked whether there was any proposal to organize a festival of India in India. "We have so many festivals. Do we need any more?"

Replying to a question, he said he would not visit Karamchedu village in Prakasam District, the scene of Harijan killings last month, as he had come mainly to visit the defence laboratories.

The Prime Minister left Hyderabad this evening for Delhi.

CSO: 4600/1853

INDIA

ZAIL TELLS STAND ON INDUSTRIAL REGULATIONS

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 4 Aug 85 p 5

[Text] Calcutta, Aug. 3: "Industrial rules and regulations should be formulated only after consultations with the industry concerned," the President, Mr Zail Singh, said here today while addressing the 27th annual general meeting of the Tea Association of India (TAI) at Rabin-dra Sadan.

"Without mentioning the Tea Marketing and Control Orders, which the industry wants scrapped, the President said laws should not be forced on the industry as it only led to tendencies to violate them.

He said tea had become the largest single foreign exchange earner for the country only because of the efforts of the workers and they, therefore, should be given a share of the profits. The worker should be regarded as partner and allowed participation in management. This would also result in improved capital-labour relationship and contribute to the overall growth and prosperity of the country.

Mr Zail Singh said: "I am aware of the special problems of the tea industry and I have no doubt that the appropriate authorities will consider them."

Earlier, Mr P. A. Sangma, Union minister of state for commerce, said the Tea Marketing and Control Order should remain effective for some more time. Rejecting a plea by Mr N. K. Daga, outgoing president of the association, to scrap the minimum export price (MEP), the minister said the government had studied the global price trends as well as the production figures before formulating the Order and the MEP.

The MEP was constantly being reviewed and reduced in line with the global trends. But it could not be scrapped as the objective was to export only the best quality tea as well as boost foreign exchange earnings.

While calling on the tea industry not to be motivated by short-term gains, Mr Sangma said the government was also constantly watching the price level at auctions and its impact on retail prices.

Thanking the industry for its contribution to the development of Assam, Mr Hiteswar Saikia, chief minister of Assam, said his government had initiated schemes to bring more land under tea plantations and also increase the yield.

Small growers would be encouraged by bringing at least 2,000 hectares under tea every year. The state government would provide infrastructural facilities, loans, capital and also subsidised power.

Mr Saikia said with the completion of the Guwahati inland container depot (ICD) efforts would be made to send Assam's entire tea exports, which is about 70 per cent of the country's total tea exports, through this depot in containers.

There was also a proposal to build a "tea town" near the ICD, and land had already been acquired for the purpose. He urged the Union government to upgrade the Tea Board's office at Guwahati and post a deputy chairman there. He also appealed to major tea companies to shift their head offices to Assam in order to take advantage of the tea town.

Mr Jyoti Basu, chief minister of West Bengal, said the consumer was being made to pay more

for tea and it would be wrong to blame only the retailers for it. He wanted the growers to provide tea at reasonable prices. Calling for a plough-back of profits into the tea industry, he said it was a pity that profits were being invested in other industries.

The prosperity of the tea industry was not, however, reflected in the condition of the garden workers or the gardens. "How can eight tea gardens in Darjeeling remain closed in spite of the boom?" he remarked. He also urged government to initiate measures to take over these sick gardens.

CSO: 4600/1854

INDIA

BLOC STATES MAY INVEST IN WEST BENGAL

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 6 Aug 85 pp 1, 9

[Text] Five Socialist countries are interested in investing in West Bengal in the fields of electronics, food processing and in the export processing zone at Falta. During a recent visit to these countries, Mr Nirmal Bose, State's Minister for Industries, discussed and identified 20 projects which held the interest of the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania and the Soviet Union.

Bilateral talks, which will follow, will entail the exchange of further information. After scrutiny of the projects by both sides, steps would be taken for their implementation with the approval of the Centre.

Briefing reporters at Writers' Buildings on Monday, Mr Bose said Romania and Bulgaria were interested in participating in electronics, while the USSR and Bulgaria were keen on food processing here. The involvement of these countries will entail transfer of technology, equity participation and buy-back arrangements. The minister said that the countries he visited were interested in going ahead in the joint sector with private firms here.

Mr Bose said interesting possibilities could open up. For instance, the bumper crop of potato in West Bengal over the past few years had led to distress sale. In one of the countries he visited alcohol was being made from potato and the starch was being used in powder form in medicine and fertilizer. Import of technology in this sphere could help potato cultivators.

The minister, while in Romania, requested the deputy minister for foreign trade of the government of Romania to reopen the Romanian Trade Representative's office in Calcutta, closed in 1983. The request would be considered, the Romanian minister was stated to have said. In Bulgaria, Mr Bose was told that the Balkan airlines had decided on a stopover in Calcutta. Mr Bose visited France and the Federal Republic of Germany and met representatives of a few leading firms. He discussed with them the possibility of their participation in some important projects in West Bengal.

Mr Bose, who met Mr P. A. Sangma, Union Minister of State for Commerce in Delhi, on his way back said that the latter had sent instructions to the Indian embassies in these countries to follow up the talks the West Bengal minister had held. The Czechoslovakia Consul General in Calcutta was said to have visited the Falta export processing zone before Mr Bose's departure for these countries.

IRAN

MONTAZERI: EXPORT OF ISLAMIC REVOLUTION HAS AWAKENED MUSLIMS

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 27 Jul 85 p 3

[Text] Dr Velayati, Foreign Minister, along with this ministry's general managers and Iran's chargés d'affaires and ambassadors in Europe and America, met and spoke with Ayatollah al-'Ozma Montazeri. During this visit he discussed the sensitivity of the situation and the importance of their responsibility. He said:

Brothers, do not think you are merely the country's representatives abroad. Since our revolution is Islamic, you gentlemen are also considered representatives of Islam and the revolution. You must thus be fully aware of this mission and its great responsibility.

Ayatollah al-'Ozma Montazeri also stressed: In our revolution, whose main criteria and goals are for the establishment of divine values, it is possible that situations will arise at times for people where there is a choice between protecting themselves or there being a certain individual in a position of responsibility, or preserving the values of Islam and the revolution. Under such circumstances, we must follow in the footsteps of our great imams and leaders, such as His Holiness Imam Hoseyn (Peace Be Upon Him), and place the preservation of Islamic values over self-protection or some special responsibility or job.

Avoiding Narrow-Mindedness and Selfishness

Ayatollah al-'Ozma Montazeri then discussed the avoidance of narrow-mindedness and selfishness. He said: The Noble Prophet (Peace Be Upon Him) and the pure imams were broad-minded, to the point that His Holiness Imam Mohammad Baqer (Peace Be Upon Him) was once told by someone: We measure individuals and classes according to our own criteria, and we reject whoever does not conform to our view and direction. He answered: Such a practice is not Islamic. Never do this, otherwise what would the people do and where would they go if they hope for God's mercy and are following the path of Islam completely. On the same principle, Ayatollah al-'Ozma Montazeri asked Iran's chargés d'affaires and ambassadors in Europe and America: Try to reassure those who for various pointless reasons have become frightened and lost and have contacted other countries, who are not against the revolution on the one hand but for various reasons are afraid to return to their country. Notify the appropriate officials or me of their situation, so that arrangements may be made to attract useful manpower to the country in the form of needed specialists who are interested both in the country and Islam.

Understanding the Status of the Revolution

His Holiness Ayatollah al-'Ozma Montazeri then discussed the status of the revolution. He said: We must properly understand the status of the revolution. We must confront the problems and shortages that the superpowers have created for our revolution systematically, patiently, and ambitiously. We must realize that despite all the sabotage and plots from the enemies of Islam, oppressed nations have become aware of the dimensions of the Islamic revolution. In reality, our revolution has been exported and nations are awakening. Today Muslim nations in Sudan, Morocco, Egypt, and elsewhere are awakening and growing intellectually and fighting idolatrous governments. You will note how Egypt's weak government has displayed its powerlessness in the face of the Islamic movements of the youth, the Muslim classes, the clergy, the Friday imams, the sermons, and mosques, which have arisen in solidarity, and how it thinks that it can prevent the growth and flowering of the Islamic movement in Egypt by closing the mosques and banning Friday prayers or demonstrations by Egyptian Muslims. It is unfortunate that instead of leaning on their own Muslim population, the leaders of many Muslim countries lean on the superpowers, America, and Israel, thus equating themselves with the despicable enemies of Islam. Even in their own countries, they deal harshly and angrily with their own Muslim people. This manner of governing can ultimately lead only to collapse and being thrown into the trash can of history, as it did for Namiri's government in Sudan.

9310

CSO: 4640/690

IRAN

ARMS SALES, BARTER AGREEMENT REPORTEDLY MADE WITH PORTUGAL

Delegation for Oil Purchase

Lisbon DIARIO DE LISBOA in Portuguese 30 Jul 85 p 24

[Text] Portugal is going to purchase 500,000 tons of petroleum from Iran over the next 7 months, according to an announcement yesterday in Tehran by a representative of the Portuguese Institute of Foreign Trade (ICEP).

Pinto Guimaraes, who heads the ICEP delegation visiting Iran, also said that Portugal intends to acquire other Iranian products as well, notably cotton and minerals.

For its part, Portugal intends to export railway equipment, chemicals, and pharmaceutical products to Iran.

This ICEP mission, which is the first since the revolution in that country, has made it possible to establish contact with Iranian authorities with a view to promoting trade between the two countries.

Sale to Rescue Industry

Lisbon TAL & QUAL in Portuguese 26 Jul 85 pp 8-9

[Article by Ferreira Pinto]

[Text] Ayatollah Khomeyni, the political and religious leader of Iran, is about to become the savior of Portuguese arms factories thanks to that country's first order for war materiel. Totalling 80 million contos, it is the largest ever for our country. And while reviving its deactivated arms industry, Portugal also has the opportunity to acquire petroleum, which Iran has for giving and selling, without having to export dollars.

Once condemned to a slow death by the end of the colonial war, Portuguese arms factories are on the verge of coming back to life. The breath of life is coming to them from the land of Christ, the Middle East. This time the savior

is Khomeyni, the political and religious leader of Iran, which has ordered war materiel worth approximately \$500 million, or about 80 million contos, from our paralyzed national arms industry. While short of the arms and ammunition they need for their 3-year-old war with neighboring Iraq, the Iranians have the petroleum that Portugal needs. Is the deal closed? It very probably will be within just a few days--and the dollars will stay home.

The national arms industry is currently oversized in relation to our domestic needs. Thanks to the Iranian order, the door is open for our war industry to return to "the good old days" and justify its 16,000 direct jobs. And at the same time that it is reviving its arms production, Portugal is also playing on Iran's petroleum chessboard with the possibility of beginning to receive oil without having to export dollars (see the table [not included]). But while those are the assumptions justifying the transaction from the pragmatic point of view, there remains the question of who is who in this deal.

On the Portuguese side, the top billing or figurehead role goes to the Trafaria Explosives Company. Maj Alpoim Calvao, manager of that public-sector firm in which the Ministry of Finance holds 51 percent of the capital, told TAL & QUAL: "We sell arms for various destinations. All our contracts contain clauses on confidentiality which must be respected." The same kind of answer to justify a leaden silence was received by TAL & QUAL from the ministries involved in the transaction--Defense and Foreign Affairs--as well as from the Iranian Embassy in Lisbon. Here more than anywhere else, secrecy is the very soul of the deal.

Arms, uniforms, and above all ammunition of all kinds make up the Iranian order, which is the largest ever for our arms industry. Portugal has limited itself in recent years to producing small quantities for foreign countries, specifically Iran and Iraq, two neighbors in the Middle East who have been engaged in a lengthy war.

The monetary value of this contract with the Islamic Republic of Iran has not yet been completely determined. The deal now being finalized, with guarantees being provided by both contracting parties, covers a period of 4 years. And while the part already completed concerns deliveries with a value on the order of 80 million contos, other aspects of the deal remain open, specifically the possibility that the final value of the contract will come close to 200 million contos.

Although the Trafaria Explosives Company is the official contracting party on the Portuguese side, that firm lacks sufficient capacity on its own to fill an order of this size. The state-owned INDEP (National Defense Industry), two of the country's biggest foundries, and at least one firm in the electronics sector are also involved in supplying this war materiel, which one source close to the negotiations describes as "the deal of the year, if not of the century" in Portugal.

Incidentally, there is an obvious degree of anxiousness to conclude this contract worth millions, the fear being that any interference or lack of confidentiality may disturb the smooth progress of negotiations in the final

phase. One high official at a firm involved in the deal could not restrain himself from suggesting to this reporter that "the news be delayed until sometime around September."

The reason for this contract frenzy can be seen most clearly in the statement made to TAL & QUAL by the national director of armament, General Costa Alvares: "All exports pass through here because they require authorization by the Ministry of Defense. I cannot say which authorizations have been requested and which have been granted. Any lack of confidentiality could harm the economic activities of the firms." And the fact is that the national arms industry has already lost contracts that it thought were secure.

INDEP, for example, was preparing to sell a certain kind of ammunition at a price of \$140. But because the deal became known, arms dealers immediately contacted the purchaser and offered the same materiel for \$135. A Portuguese dealer finally landed the sale. And who manufactured the ammunition for him? No one but INDEP, which filled his order at a unit price of \$130. In short, INDEP failed to earn \$10 per unit on ammunition, while the alert and well-informed dealer pocketed \$5 for acting as middleman.

There is also the fact that in the case of the contracts now being finalized, the firms involved are already negotiating purchases on the raw materials market to stay ahead of foreseeable price increases on those materials. Doing so is one of their chief sources of profit, but it also constitutes a risk factor: if the contracts are not finalized, the firms wind up with a big stock of valuable materials for which there is no guaranteed sale.

That is also why silence is necessarily golden in the negotiations between Portuguese authorities and the Iranians. "All contracts of that type include extremely confidential material, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs does no more than give an advisory opinion." And that is all that a spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs would tell TAL & QUAL.

The Secretariat of State for Defense, on the other hand, was more than evasive in answering the questions asked by TAL & QUAL on Monday. "The secretary of state has to go to Porto for a conference this weekend and cannot say anything right now" was the answer we got the next day from a secretary to Figueiredo Lopes, for whom the government's weekend apparently begins on Wednesday. Even simpler was the answer from the Iranian Embassy in Lisbon: "We know nothing about it."

In short, the Portuguese must not find out that arms are being exported until those arms are shipped from the port of Setubal, as happened previously and as was reported by TAL & QUAL. And isn't the Gulf War between Iran and Iraq taking place a long way from here--over there in the Middle East?

Uranium and Bombs

A rise in imports of Iranian petroleum is one foreseeable consequence of the large-scale supplying of Portuguese arms to Khomeyni's country, although for the moment, PETROGAL [Portuguese Petroleum Company] has not received any

instructions from the government on that point. "Our contracts are concerned only with dollars and petroleum--in other words, no imports are made under the barter system. Obviously, PETROGAL tries to persuade its suppliers to make purchases in Portugal, but that aspect of it is not in the contract." That is what TAL & QUAL was told by Dr. Francisco Sarsfield Cabral, spokesman for that state-owned enterprise. But in any case, this would not be the first time that a plan for mutual payment in goods was applied to PETROGAL's imports or negotiated outside the company.

In 1979, for example, Portugal wound up having to sell uranium to Iraq to ensure its petroleum supplies. At that time, about 40 percent of PETROGAL's purchases were concentrated in that Middle Eastern country. With the start of the Gulf War, Iraq's petroleum production declined. Uranium then served as the medium of exchange to ensure supplies for our country, and the deal was made "over PETROGAL's head."

It is true that today's situation is quite different: not only are PETROGAL's sources of supply quite diversified, but the situation in the world petroleum market is favorable to the buyer. Even so, Portugal will probably increase its imports of Iranian petroleum to take advantage of the barter system and especially to stop the outflow of coveted dollars, which in this area are climbing a ladder scaled in millions.

The Portuguese petroleum bill totaled about 340 million contos in 1984. Iran (like Iraq, oddly enough) contributes about 6 percent--or nearly 20 million contos worth--of our total oil imports. Portugal is also showing an interest in increasing its exports to Iran. Now in that country is a delegation from the Portuguese Institute of Foreign Trade, and one member of the delegation is a PETROGAL manager.

11798

CSO: 3542/232

IRAN

IRAQI MOJAHEDIN ROLE, SITUATION IN EGYPT, PAKISTAN

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 27 Jul 85 p 3

[Text] Hojjat ol-Eslam Hakim, spokesman for the Iraq Supreme Revolutionary Council, gave a press conference yesterday morning. He discussed Operation Jerusalem IV and the manner of participation of Mojahedin of the Supreme Revolutionary Council of Iraq's military unit in this operation.

Our correspondent reports that Hojjat ol-Eslam Hakim spoke to a group of correspondents at the Martyr Ayatollah Sadr Institute. He discussed the recent events and the situation in Egypt and Pakistan and enumerated the goals of a high-level political delegation from the Supreme Council to Libya and several other Arab countries.

Operation Jerusalem IV and the Role of the Iraqi Mojahedin

The spokesman of the Supreme Revolutionary Council of Iraq discussed recent operations by Iraqi Mojahedin. He said: These operations, which were carried out in southern Iraq, showed Iraq's combative ability and delivered powerful blows to the rotting body of Saddam's army. More than 150 square kilometers of the land of the Muslim people of Iraq were liberated and tens of Iraqi mercenaries were captured by our combatants, and with this successful operation the mercenary Iraqi army was confused and bewildered.

He added: During this operation only 20 combatants were martyred and 9 were wounded. According to intelligence obtained, the Iraqi fourth army was totally destroyed and the Hur cavalry brigade, one of Iraq's best military groups, was entirely destroyed.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Hakim added: Military commanders praised the operations of our combative forces.

Journey to Libya and Several Arab Countries

The spokesman for the supreme council then discussed the trip by a high-ranking delegation to several Arab countries. He said: With suitable conditions, after the astounding succession of operations by the combatants of Iraq against the collapsing Iraqi regime, the supreme council thought it appropriate to send a high-ranking delegation to meet and talk with some Arab leaders, including the leaders of Libya, in order to inform them of the chaotic conditions in Iraq and the reality of the power of Iraq's Mojahedin forces and to explain to them the political and military policies of the supreme council.

He added: The crimes of the Iraqi regime against the Muslim nation of Iraq, and especially matters pertaining to prisoners and the martyrs in the family of Ayatollah al-'Ozma Seyyed Mohsen Hakim were among other things discussed with this country's high officials.

Islamic Movements in Egypt and Pakistan

The supreme council spokesmen then discussed the situation and recent events in Egypt and Pakistan. He said: These days a series of political and Islamic instigations have taken place in Egypt which are very extensive compared to the past. While the area's reactionary governments, hand-in-hand with Palestinian factions, were seeking to strengthen the Camp David accords, Egypt's extensive Islamic movements, led by the spiritual clergy of Islam, were showing their opposition to the policies of the regime in power in Egypt with this movement.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Hakim also announced the supreme council's policy concerning the recent movements and trends in Pakistan. Expressing support for them, he said: In Pakistan also recent movements have been led by the clergy, and world imperialism has tried to portray this movement in some other way by saying it is based on religious and ethnic differences.

He then addressed himself to the government of Pakistan. He said: We want the Pakistani regime to take the emotions and Islamic feelings of the people of Pakistan into consideration.

In conclusion the spokesman for the Supreme Revolutionary Council of Iraq was asked why Saddam's regime has not yet fallen despite deep and extensive instability in its political and economic system. He said: Iraq is not alone. It has attacked us as the representative of Eastern and Western imperialism and it enjoys their military, political, and economic support.

Another aspect is that the criminal regime of Iraq has been able to survive and preserve its despicable life only through force, terrorism, and an atmosphere of suffocation.

9310

CSO: 4640/680

IRAN

HEALTH MINISTRY DENIES IMPORT OF EXPIRED DRUGS

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 31 Jul 85 p 2

[Text] The importation of old and expired drugs has been denied by the office of the Ministry of Health's deputy minister for pharmaceuticals. The same office also denied the purchase of anti-diarrhea powder (U.A.S.) from countries abroad. In this connection, it said that the National Pharmaceuticals Corporation only purchased 1.5 to two million packages of this drug.

Dr Nik-Nezhad, Deputy Minister of Health for Pharmaceuticals, gave an exclusive interview to KEYHAN in which he discussed the matters above. Continuing, he added: In recent years, no expired drugs have been imported. It is possible, however, that drugs brought into the country by importers and turned over to distributors remained in storage with the distributors beyond the expiration date so that by the time they reached the pharmacy they were expired. He said: Currently, all drugs being imported into the country are being studied by the Ministry of Health with regard to their quality, price, and especially their expiration dates.

He added: I am officially asking all pharmacies to notify the Ministry of Health if they encounter expired drugs.

Concerning the death of a young three-year-old boy in the city of Rudbar from drinking Amuxycilin, Dr Nik-Nezhad said: In such cases, the age, type of illness, reason for taking the child to the hospital, as well as the prescription the doctor has written for the child, must be studied.

He added: The contents of a bottle of medicine cannot all be consumed at one time, and the toxic effects of one or two tablespoons are not enough to kill a child, but it is possible that the child had a high sensitivity to the drug and became ill after taking it. Under such circumstances, a physician must be called, or a hospital must give the child an allergy antidote.

Concerning the reasons for importing the anti-diarrhea powder U.A.S. from Turkey when Iran is capable of producing this powder in sufficient quantities itself, Dr. Nik-Nezhad said: The Deputy Ministry for Health Care ordered five million units of U.A.S. powder in 1362 [21 Mar 1983 - 20 Mar 1984], and accordingly we contacted the Pharmaceutical Distribution Company and ordered that amount.

He added: However, since it takes six to nine months to obtain a drug including the time required to get the raw materials and package it, that year we were unable to produce five million units of U.A.S. powder. I must add, however, that despite the domestic need for U.A.S. powder, since 1361 [21 Mar 1982 - 20 Mar 1983], other than a million units which we obtained from the

World Health Organization and 1.5 to two million units of U.A.S. powder imported by the Pharmaceuticals Corporation, we have not bought any of this material, because no country was willing to supply 25 to 30 million units of U.A.S. powder to Iran. The Pharmaceutical Distribution Company thus agreed to produce this amount of drugs, so that since 1362 [21 Mar 1983 - 20 Mar 1984] all units of U.A.S. powder with the Pharmaceuticals Distribution Company logo have been made available to consumers free.

Dr. Nik-Nezhad discussed the shortage of pharmaceutical products in the country, especially cardiac drugs. He said:

According to reports we have received, the main reason for the shortage of cardiac drugs, drugs for high blood pressure, and various kinds of serums and antibiotics is the shortage of packaged raw materials. On the other hand, some of the country's pharmaceutical factories are not now capable of meeting their commitments to manufacture drugs. Likewise, in the area of imports we have many transportation and freight problems, and according to reports, freight from Turkey is being delayed. We hope this problem will be solved and that the shortages will be relieved.

9310

CSO: 4640/690

IRAN

VOCATIONAL TRAINING OFFICIALS REQUEST EXPANSION OF FACILITIES

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 31 Jul 85 p 2

[Text] KEYHAN Cultural Service—Among the requests made by the technical and professional training deputies in the country's provincial education and training offices at the conclusion of their seminar, in a resolution addressed to the Majlis, the Council of Ministers, the Minister of Higher Education and Culture and other affiliated and concerned organizations, were equal opportunity in educational programs, the procurement of credit, the creation of the necessary facilities for further study in higher education, the provision of scholarships for study abroad, the elimination of financial discrimination, and equal salaries.

The resolution, which declared its support for the valiant combatants and declared readiness to go to the fronts of the war of the Truth against the Vain, contained the following:

As insiders in the country's technical and professional training fields, we thank our esteemed brother Engineer Musavi, the respected Prime Minister of the Government of the Islamic Republic, for his favor. He has made affirmations and recommendations, in view of the special goals for technical and professional education, for cooperation between the ministries, organizations, and industrial institutions with regard to on-the-job training for technical and professional teachers and university students, as well as employment and priority treatment for the relevant occupations in the cooperatives for graduates from such training programs. We urgently call upon the pertinent organizations to help provide equal opportunity in our training programs based on their needs, and to improve quality and to adopt an appropriate policy of expansion, by refraining from establishing independent training programs.

We call upon the respected Supreme Cultural Revolution Council and the respected Ministry of Culture to adopt a policy of coordinating between technical and professional training and the relevant journeyman and expert training programs, with a specific goal for further education for graduates of the journeyman and expert technical and professional training centers, and for experts not connected with a specialty, in view of future needs, and to provide more educational materials in view of future needs.

We urgently call upon the respected Ministry of Culture and Higher Education to create teacher training classes in technical and professional fields and procure scholarships for study abroad to relieve the shortage of teachers as soon as possible.

Another part of the resolution said:

While declaring our complete readiness to design a plan for technical and professional training, we call upon our representatives and the Majlis Education and Training Commission to confront this situation and make the appropriate decision in view of the problems and malfunctions in current technical and professional training organizations with the idea of assisting in the formation of new educational organizations by the respected Council of Ministers.

We call upon the respected Supreme Council for Coordinating National Technical and Professional Training, the respected Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Commerce, and Industry, and the National Administrative and Employment Organization to give the Ministry of Education and Training its necessary share in the areas of scholarships for educational and vocational training pertaining to technical and professional education, as well as cultural exchanges and the transfer of technology. We call upon the respected Supreme Council for Coordinating National Technical and Professional Training and the respected Plan and Budget Ministry, in view of the problems and financial restrictions in the Ministry of Education and Training, to resolve the financial bottlenecks in technical and professional training, which is faced with enormous costs, by obtaining credit from organizational budgets.

Seminar participants then noted: In view of the policies and goals of technical and professional training, the planning for which in the mid-term is the responsibility of the Ministry of Education and Training, we call upon the Plan and Budget Ministry to provide the necessary cooperation to implement financial agendas, especially in the area of the high around-the-clock costs of education, and the right to study, which are based on necessity and were compiled to properly implement programs, and to provide a special section in the 1365 [21 Mar 1986 - 20 Mar 1987] budget bill for all the funds needed for technical and professional training.

We also call upon the nation's respected officials to equalize legal and welfare rights for specialists with equivalent credentials who are employed in various occupations in order to alleviate financial discrimination, and to take appropriate steps in this area as quickly as possible, so that there will be no more displacement of forces, even in government organization, than there already is.

At the conclusion of their resolution, the technical and professional training deputies in the country's provincial education and training offices noted: In view of the recent measures taken by the ministry which leads the way in making changes in the educational system, we declare our readiness to participate in planning and supporting the implementation of the new system that will be devised. We call upon the concerned officials to set educational goals and to make use of the background and experience of projects such as the cadre plan, which is to be evaluated.

In conclusion, it is noteworthy that this gathering began in Tehran on 29 Tir [20 July] and lasted for three days, that the technical and professional training deputies in the country's provincial education and training offices took part in it, and that they studied the issues and problems of the goals of technical and professional education.

9310

CSO: 4640/690

IRAN

BRIEFS

DISABLED POWS RELEASED--Tehran, 9 Aug (IRNA)--Iran's Foreign Ministry issued an announcement in connection with the release of 29 Iranian disabled POWs, who arrived here Wednesday. The announcement said that following Iran's unilateral release of disabled Iraqi POWs, the Iraqi regime was forced to release Iranian POWs (over 150 of whom have so far been freed in three stages). The Foreign Ministry stressed that it would continue its efforts for the release of all Iranian disabled and wounded captives and their return to Iran under the Geneva Convention. [Text] [Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 10 Aug 85 p 2]

CSO: 4600/614

PAKISTAN

CHANCES OF WITHDRAWAL OF MARTIAL LAW TERMED 'BLEAK'

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 13 Aug 85 p 8

[Text]

Former Punjab Chief Minister and Chairman of the defunct Pakistan Masaawat Party, Hanif Ramay said today there were bleak chances of the Armed Forces moving back to the barracks before the next Independence Day in view of the limping pace of civilianisation in the country. He was talking to a group of newsmen here.

Hanif Ramay said the rulers had calculatedly engaged the Parliament in the rignorale of committees to delineate the future political set-up and in fact their sole object was to perpetuate their arbitrary grip over the reins of powers. Criticising the Parliament, he bitterly objected to the formation of committees. He said the authorities were taking refuge behind a variety of pretexts and excuses to prolong their rule. Hanif Ramay quoted an interview of the President reportedly contending that a period of 15 months would be needed to send the army back to the barracks.

The former Chief Minister said it was painful to see only 60 National Assembly members signing a resolution to be put before the House by the 'Liberal Group' for elimination of Martial Law. He alleged that the members who had not signed the resolution had virtually violated the mandate accorded to them by their constituents, who supported them on the premise that they (members) would help restore democratic order in the country. He urged the news media to expose those who had abstained from favouring the move.

Referring to the impending Independence Day celebrations, Hanif Ramay said the visible fanfare and activity to observe the ceremony in a befitting manner had been in fact sponsored by the Government and the masses had nothing to do with it as they were languishing under an oppressive system and crying for

realisation of their fundamental rights. He alleged that though the nation had been emancipated from colonial rule years ago, it was now governed by 'neo-colonials' and darkness prevails all along and there was no ray of hope in the near future for the downtrodden.

Hanif Ramay described the outlawed political parties as most 'docile and tame opposition' and claimed that the President was lucky in the sense that he had found such well-behaved opponents. The most formidable opposition party, PPP, he pointed out, was now split into many groups and every one was attempting to grind his own axe, ignoring the integrity of the party and the need of the hour. He referred to a statement of the President in which he said that some politicians had been quietly asking him to prolong the present system. Hanif Ramay urged him to disclose the names of such persons for the information of the masses.

He expressed concern at the deteriorating law and order situation in the country and criticised the administration for its failure to trap the unbridled and mighty criminals. Referring to yesterday's eruption of violence in the city following the ghastly murder of nine persons, he said the state of affair reflected deep disenchantment and frustration prevailing among the masses who have lost patience after such recurring incidents. Hanif Ramay added that the butchers freely operated in a city so close to the corridors of the powers and one shuddered to imagine what was happening in the far-flung areas, which are hardly ever attended to by the rulers.

Hanif Ramay hinted that the authorities wanted to create a situation where the Parliament was forced to 'pay a price for lifting Martial Law' in the form of ratification of the drastic amendments in the 1973 document. Thereafter, the rulers would feel extremely secure and safe and would not hesi-

tate to lift Martial Law. He warned them in plain words not to concentrate powers in their own hands, reminding them of the fate of some deposed rulers who had done so. Hanif Ramay advised the Parliament members to agree to hold elections after every three years on party basis so that real democracy could be restored in the country.

According to PPI, the former Punjab Chief Minister said 'today we were preparing to celebrate Independence Day but we must ponder at this stage whether we really have any freedom'.

He was convinced that if the nation was not introduced to technology and expertise in computer and solar energy within the next ten years, it would be left thousands of years behind the community of nations.

Mr. Ramay was unhappy to observe that Punjab and Sind had been made to wrangle over the issue of distribution of Indus waters while load-shedding had severely damaged the economy, causing a loss of billions of rupees.

PAKISTAN

STEPS TOWARD LIFTING MARTIAL LAW REVIEWED

Islamabad THE MUSLIN in English 17 Aug 85 p 4

[Article by Khalid Akhtar]

[Text]

At least a definite date has been set for the lifting of Martial Law. Few had anticipated that Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo would be in a position to make the much awaited announcement regarding the withdrawal of Martial Law within a specific period in his public address at Minare-Pakistan on August 14. It appears that things had moved rather quickly, if not unpredictably, during the last few days. In any case happier tidings could not have come for the nation than the categorical assurance by the Prime Minister that Martial Law will go before January-1986.

The Prime Minister could not have made such a crucial and important announcement without the concurrence and approval of President Zia. Still it would have been more reassuring had the President himself made a reference to the lifting of Martial Law, even if it was an indirect one, in his address at the flag hoisting ceremony at the Presidency on the Independence Day. For it is the President who, after all, has to decide when Martial Law is to be ended. It was not long ago that the President and the Premier had sidly negated each other on Pakistan's possible response to continued provocations by the Afghan regime the latter threatening retaliation

and the former ruling out any such action. It is hoped that President Zia and Premier Junejo will not contradict each other on the sensitive issue of time limit for the withdrawal of Martial Law. Only a few days ago President Zia had reportedly said that it would take another 15 months to lift Martial Law. Even the proceedings in the National Assembly had not indicated that Martial Law would go by the end of this year. The N.A. Committee report on new political parties act envisages that it will take 12 to 15 months for the registration and re-activation of political parties—a pre-requisite for the withdrawal of Martial Law. But Mr. Junejo's statement at Minare-Pakistan has pleasantly run counter to all this. How the two positions will be reconciled remains to be seen.

PLEASANT SURPRISE

Mr. Junejo's address of August 14 has given the nation a pleasant surprise. He talked about solving the people's problem of eliminating corruption and above all of ushering in an era of the truly democratic dispensation. This is all very good and encouraging. But one would wish that he had gone a step further. What the people need more badly is an assurance that their fundamental rights will be restored. It is very unfortunate that for sometime past our rulers have been talking about democracy minus people's rights—a dichotomy that is doing little good to our body politic.

That the continuation of Martial Law has been eroding the

credibility of the National Assembly is beyond doubt. This has strengthened opposition within and outside the House. Mr. Junejo and his colleagues have been facing many embarrassing moments. The motion on the validity of PCO generated quite a heat in the Assembly. The Chair's ruling on it could go either way. And finally the opposition is preparing to introduce a resolution in the House calling for withdrawal of Martial Law. According to latest reports 60 or 70 odd members have already signed the resolution and more may extend their support to it. The situation may not be alarming for the regime but it could certainly turn out to be an irritant for them. But for the time being Mr. Junejo's announcement regarding withdrawal of Martial Law would neutralise all opposition moves to corner the regime.

The Martial Law authorities could draw some consolation from the fact that a non-party House would scarcely produce a coherent and effective opposition. This explains how and why despite all the noise for the withdrawal of Martial Law, military rule stays on.

There is consensus that Martial Law should go immediately but there is hardly any unanimity of views in the opposition regarding what should follow next. This has made the Opposition hesitant and incapable of offering alternative solution. By accepting non-party polls, the members, whether they belong to the official party or the opposition have accepted amendments in the Constitution. It is now on the extent of these amendments that the Martial Law authorities, the OPC

and the Opposition appear to hold different views. This is an abnormal situation and explains the gravity of the constitutional crisis the country is faced with.

UNWIELDY MAJORITY

The biggest disadvantage of the partyless House has been that it has resulted in an unwieldy majority group and a feeble Opposition. And it appears that whatever measures the regime may take it has to live with some of the drawbacks of partyless elections. Interestingly, President Zia has so far kept himself aloof from Mr. Junejo's efforts aimed at creating the King's Party notwithstanding the fact that it is the President who needs to civilianise his rule. Most probably President Zia does not want to associate himself with an exercise the outcome of which is not clear at the moment. As it is, any setback in the formation of the King's Party will be Mr. Junejo's failure. President Zia will be there to play another round according to his own lights.

It has been repeatedly said that Martial Law could only be lifted when the National Assembly has stabilised its position. But if over 50 per cent turnout in the polls could not give stability to the Assembly, none else could. Similar is the case with the Referendum leading to Gen. Zia's election as President. This is all due to our non-conventional approach towards democracy—the non-party polls are an instance in point. The lifting of Martial Law will be a big step forward only if it is not replaced by a PCO!

CSO: 4600/618

PAKISTAN

PARTIES, POLITICS: PRIME MINISTER'S PREDICAMENT REVIEWED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 17 Aug 85 p 4

[Text]

THIS year Independence Day was somewhat different from that of the last several years. After a long time, the government as well as opposition political parties were allowed to hold public meetings in various parts of the country. In keeping with the thrust of participatory democracy, a semblance of which has been in evidence since the February 25 polls, the government itself under the Prime Minister's leadership held a big public meeting in Lahore, Pakistan's political capital. Commendably, the government allowed the MRD to hold an equally big public meeting also in Lahore. These two events, while being related, are not without significance in that they mark the beginning of a new phase in Pakistan's politics—a phase in which politics will be allowed through political parties.

Apart from the fact that public rallies were allowed, the importance of the August 14 meeting was that the Prime Minister gave a solemn commitment to the nation to lift Martial Law by January 1, 1986. This reiterates his earlier resolve made before his maiden appearance in parliament that "Martial Law and Civilian Government cannot co-exist". Eversince the induction of the Prime Minister and the new civilian government, there had been repeated demands made by members of parliament as well as the MRD for the full restoration of democracy, via lifting of Martial Law. Regrettably, an impression gained ground that official quarters were deliberately filibustering on this issue and that the decision to lift Martial Law had been shelved for the time being. Concurrently, the matter was bogged down in maze of procedures, committees, reports and debates. Now that an unambiguous commitment has been made by the Prime Minister in fairly categorical language, we would hope that the march towards January 1 will be unhindered by detours or zigzags including oft repeated arguments regarding "law and order" or newly propounded theories of "political vacuum".

The important aspect in this regard is that civilianisation cannot be selective or piecemeal. The government cannot hope to have one set of rules for itself and different ones for others, particularly those in the opposition. Now that it is establishing an official parliamentary party, it should not be averse to opposition within parliament as well as outside it. In any case, such a process will be a plus for the credibility of the new parliament and the government and help in consolidating the political process which has remained retarded over the years through military interventionism and bureaucratic diktat. In fact, by allowing MRD to hold public meetings in Pakistan, the government has accepted the legitimacy of the opposition within our political structure. The Prime Minister's assurance will be welcome by all democratic minded people and they will be supportive of efforts being made by him in this direction. The Prime Minister can do no greater service to this country other than getting Martial Law lifted and ensuring a stable and smooth transition to a civilian parliamentary democracy.

CSO: 4600/618

PAKISTAN

POLITICAL PARTIES PROFILED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 11, 12, 13, 15, 18 Aug 85

[Articles by Dr. Mohammad Waseem]

[11 Aug 85 p 4]

[Text]

The current interest in reviving political parties and in ways to limit their scope both structurally and operationally invites comment on the present and future of political parties in Pakistan. Foremost among them is the Pakistan Peoples' Party (PPP). All agree that it is the largest single party in the country. Some maintain that it is far more popular than all other parties put together, including its lesser partners within the MRD. The real controversy about the PPP is, however, related to the kind of politics it represents, or should represent, both inside and outside the party.

The PPP still enjoys the remarkable distinction of having been capable of winning a majority of seats in (West) Pakistan within three years of its existence, i.e. from 1967 to 1970. It was not just a simple breakaway faction of the ruling party, as was the case with earlier parties, rather, it emerged due to public disenchantment with Ayub's system. Organisationally, the PPP of the late 1960s can be compared with the Muslim League of middle 1940s. Both had two features in common: a stratum of rural elite and a wide spectrum of urban intelligentsia. The Muslim League won over large sections of landlords in Punjab and also enjoyed the support of a middle-class urban group of intellectuals and professionals, who gave the party its organisation and ideology.

CLASS BASE

The PPP, on the other hand, could enlist the support of emerging medium scale farmers as well as the relatively less privileged urban intelligentsia geared towards progressive ideas. The former defeated the exclusively rural-based unionist party as well as such exclusively urban-based parties as Khaksar Tehrik and Mallis-e-Ahlar. The latter defeated such exclusively rural-based parties as the Muslim League (s) of 1970 and such exclusively urban parties as Jamat-e-Islami and other religious groups. In both cases, the rural wing represented the power base, along with the voter blocs, while the urban wing was responsible for organisational work, such as party propaganda, rationalisation of the party programme, image building of the leader and preparation of ideological syntheses.

When in power from 1971 to 1977, the PPP's radical urban intelligentsia was increasingly alienated, while their crucial organisational work was transferred to PPP confidants within the bureaucracy. On the other hand, the support of landlords was cultivated with a renewed vigour. Bhutto chose to combat the PNA before and after the March 1977 elections with the help of landlords and bureaucrats. The much maligned intellectuals of his party were no match for the strong urban-based intellectuals of PNA. In other words, Bhutto heavily relied on state power and dispensed with his street power,

which was represented by party cadres, intellectuals and constituency-level workers. With most of the landlord elements staying indoors and party activists being thus alienated, the 1978-79 campaign to save Bhutto failed miserably, despite his immense popularity with the masses at large. Realising its failure to mobilise the general public, the PPP high command agreed to forge a broad alliance with its erstwhile adversary, the PNA, in 1981 and gave birth to the Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD). Ever since, the PPP has played its role in the country's politics from the platform of the MRD, while its internal organisational problems continue to produce unrest within.

CHANGING ROLE

The PPP has undergone more changes in its role and its personality than any other major party of Pakistan in the last 8 years of martial law. There are two main reasons for this: The PPP, unlike any other party in the country, was a ruling party immediately before the present regime took over, and it went through considerable tension in the process of adjusting as an ex-government party. Second, it was the exclusive target of the government, playing with the life of its leader, the long internment period of its acting chairpersons and a variety of punishments for its leaders and workers throughout the country. A bitter debate over the ends and means of the party's struggle for democracy followed.

It was alleged that active party work had fallen back on progressive workers at the lease line, while the top-level party leadership remained in the hands of power politicians. The latter were not concerned with ideological questions and distrusted the party workers completely. In one author's words, there were various groups of "ideologues" and "politicians" in the PPP, belonging to the "party cell" and "inner cell" respectively, which fiercely opposed one another both in Pakistan and abroad. To these factions was added a small group of Bhutto faithfuls, such as Tikka Khan, Rao Rashid and Dr. Nasir A. Sheikh, who stood by him through the darkest period of his incarceration. They, therefore, command the

Bhutto ladies respect and trust to an extent which would otherwise be considered politically disastrous due to their subjective paternalistic vision in contrast with the original mass participatory vision of the PPP.

In a way, all PPP-style "leftist" parties undergo change after coming to power. The social governments of President Mitterrand in France,

Andreas Pappandreou in Greece, Filipe Gonzales in Spain, Julius Nyerere in Tanzania and the Baath Party in Iraq and Syria have shed some of their hardline positions on ideological or foreign policy issues after coming to power. The difference between the PPP and other "leftist" parties lies in the former's inability to regain its large constituency lost after it was deposed. It was due mainly to the continuation of the party hierarchy of the latter period. That means that the party is no longer capable of launching a mobilisation campaign effectively enough that the state would feel it necessary to open its doors to it once again. Nor is it likely to attain such capability in the near future. What it badly lacks now is the urban intelligentsia, which operated as a "transmission belt" between the rural elite and the constituency-level party workers. It is no surprise, therefore, that the organisational and ideological work of the PPP is in a shambles, and no clear thinking on domestic or foreign issues is coming forth from any quarter.

The anomaly is that the concentration of party leadership in London has miserably failed to produce a consensus on the party's programme and future strategy. While the mantle of leadership is securely placed on the shoulders of Benazir Bhutto, a raging war of different factions is going on. It is basically an intra-elite struggle,

wherein each faction has been trying to wear an ideological face. Much has been said about Benazir's inability to integrate these factional groupings into a coherent whole. The problem, however, seems to be rooted in the dissipation of party leadership in the face of the most devastating political vacuum in the country.

PRESENT DILEMMA

We can outline three aspects of the present dilemma of the PPP: First, the party is a serious contender for power unlike most other parties in Pakistan. That means that it must be a "movement party" once again, because in Pakistan's non-democratic political framework the only way of entering the state system is through opening up the gates of constitutional rule via elections. Unfortunately, the PPP has yet to make a transition from a pro-status quo position to the one of a "movement party". The present factional squabbling is rooted essentially in this status-quo orientation.

Second, there is a serious organisational gap between the leadership and the workers, resulting in the absence of guidelines for action, lack of opinion-making at the popular level and overall "psychic anarchy". This gap is a result of the removal of the leadership from Pakistan, the ascendancy of a post-1971 generation of leadership within the country with whom party workers find it difficult to identify, and, not the least, the reduced power of intellectuals in the party. The longer this gap continues, the more difficult it becomes for Benazir Bhutto and her close associates to weld disparate elements in the party.

NEW FORCES

Third, the PPP has yet to come to grips with the fact of the 1985 elections and the emergence of a parliament. The legislators, who claim to have mass popularity and who are engaged in a relatively uninterrupted process of putting institutional pressure on the overall framework of martial law with the end of removing it, are an ambivalent category of political leaders, quite a few of whom came from the PPP ranks. The political struggle for this party is thus becoming a morass of conflicting forces.

A severe test of the PPP's maturity as a party is forthcoming in the form of a possibly conditional revival of parties. Being a non-registered party and the bearer of Bhutto's legacy, all efforts will perhaps be made to eliminate it from the political scene. Will, then, the party leadership opt for a more radical approach, or will it tag to seek an accommodation with the ruling elite on this issue? Will it search for allies among the members of various assemblies? Will it try to go it alone, or will it at no point abandon fellow members of the MRD? Lastly, what is its strategy vis-a-vis Asghar Khan's call for agitation from 14 August? Indications are that Benazir will find it hard to change the existing balance between the radicals and conservatives. Also, bestowing legitimacy on the elected members of assemblies will put it in a moral crisis and alienate it from the rest of the MRD. It seems the leadership, ideological orientation, or organisational structure of the PPP will continue unchanged for the foreseeable future. Perhaps its leadership is contented to bid its time until destiny calls it. Meanwhile, no big or small issue is likely to create a mass convulsion in its favour, not even the forthcoming burial of Shahnawaz Bhutto.

[Text]

The last decade has seen the Tehrik attain organisational maturity, at least in a formal way. It has produced written literature, related to various aspects of national life. It has conducted elections of office-holders almost regularly, even though Asghar Khan has been able to manage to influence the outcome in one way or the other. The party has been gradually acknowledged among the articulate sections of the population as a viable political organisation, with a relatively stable leadership. Having been a non-government party ever since its inception, its cultivation of a public appeal — geared towards clean politics — is largely based on a moral vision of public life. In actual strength, it claims to be the second largest party in the country, which is usually contested by other aspirants for that position. This fact explains why the Tehrik leadership is constantly preoccupied with the PPP, which it considers to be the main hurdle in its march to power. It also explains why the Tehrik has sometimes used the PPP's leftist rhetoric and chosen to penetrate its traditional constituency among the working class in a bid to beat it in an open political contest.

While the PPP's appeal remains strong in rural areas and has progressively weakened in urban areas, with the Tehrik the reverse is true. Its appeal has gradually expanded among urban professionals and intellectuals, while it has no base in the countryside. While projecting itself as a "progressive" anti-feudal party, it has relied heavily on mere party programme to win over political space in the countryside.

DIVIDENDS

Naturally, that has not paid any dividends until now. The rural population has remained largely outside the orbit of the Tehrik's organisational work, despite its claims to the contrary. On the one

hand, the Muslim League represents the feudal class of this country, with a sprinkling of urban professionals here and there. On the other hand, the PPP still commands the support of the large poor peasant/landless tenant class, which is embroiled in complex tenurial relations. In this situation, the natural choice for the Tehrik's rural constituency would have been the progressive middle-farmers. But it has failed to capture their imagination. This class is not represented among the party's higher ranks or middle-level cadres.

URBAN BASE

As far as the Tehrik's stronger urban base is concerned, it can be defined in terms of elite professionals and ex-bureaucrats. Instead of creative intelligentsia, the party relies on prosperous middle-class cadres who initiate plans for development, ask for elimination of corruption and bigotry from the society and suggest constitutional democratic solutions to the country's deepening political crisis. The Tehrik has a good infrastructure to operate from and has cultivated understanding with select trade union leaderships, media men, university intelligentsia and some freelancers. What it has not been able to do is to create an ideological synthesis which would give it an identity and a personality. It has failed to speak the public language for change. In fact, it lacks credit for being a party for change at all. That is a crucial failing in as much as a serious contender for power from outside the military-bureaucratic establishment of Pakistan must be seen to aim at structural change to capture people's imagination. In other words, the Tehrik seems to share the fate of so many other political parties of Pakistan which promise to continue existing on the periphery of the power structure of this country. The difference lies in the fact that it has seriously been preparing itself for the government.

One can ask: on what ground? With no mass base in the country, can the Tehrik's bid for power be taken seriously? The apparent confidence of the party leadership can be rooted in its composition. It is a party of ex-bureaucrats and ex-power-holders. It is a party of the counter-elite, for whom power is there for the taking. But the tragedy is that Pakistan's state system does not provide for

circulation of elites" through regular elections. Instead, it co-opts the dissident elements, or, if that is not possible, it just destroys them. The only way to open up the doors of this state, at least in the past, has been through mass movements. The Tehrik is not made of that stuff. It has neither power-hungry landlord politicians among its ranks who would be prepared to take political risks nor militant workers at the constituency-level who might become the cannon fodder in a mass campaign. Therefore, Tehrik-e-Istiqbal's future as a mass party is far from settled and by no means bright.

The Tehrik's self-same identity as a contender for power is manifested through its frustration with the MRD, which it considers a drag on its own capabilities. Its leadership has often shown dissatisfaction with the MRD's lack of readiness to play the political game according to the new rules. It does not believe in waiting endlessly for the opportune moment to strike the government, unlike the lesser parties of the MRD, which have shown such willingness. It is often alleged that Asghar Khan and other leaders of the Tehrik have been close to the corridors of power and are therefore set for a solo flight towards it. And yet the fact is that these leaders, brought up as they were on stringent career lines spread over a lifetime of increases in their income and status, are no political gamblers at all. They are instead a cautious lot. Such "pragmatism" may be responsible for certain half decisions of the party at times of crisis and lack of vigour in pursuit of certain policies approved by its leadership.

PUBLIC CAUSES

The Tehrik has more leaders than workers. In Pakistan, as elsewhere party workers are the product of public causes, which are usually identified with leaders, consolidating thereby their clientele networks. The Tehrik's lack of identity with an exclusive cause has kept its leadership less integrated with the political workers at the base line. A party with a heavy overlay of leaders and a soft belly underneath is organisationally weak. We can consider the Tehrik's performance in this light. Its leaders have often entered into public controversies with other parties and individuals over personal and ideological issues, from which they

have emerged in a less than enviable position. This can be partly explained in terms of lack of feedback below.

A related problem is the nature of Asghar Khan's leadership. At times of crisis in the country at large, he captured the public imagination in 1969 and 1977. He commanded a political following which far exceeded his narrow party base. His elevation to the position of an alternative to Ayub and later Bhutto, unfortunately, did not reflect in his organisational strength. In other words, Asghar Khan's tall stature could not be harnessed for popularisation of his party. One reason can be the oppressive nature of Pakistan's political system, which does not allow any political leader to build his organisational base in the country. Another, more specific, reason seems to be the apparent disjunction between the urban-based, cosmopolitan leadership of the Tehrik and the factional base of rural power structure from which it is completely alienated.

ELECTIONS

The 1985 elections have once again brought this party to a point

[13 Aug 85 pp 4, 7]

[Text]

The Pakistan Muslim League, currently led by the Pir of Pagara, is the king's party par excellence. It has served the purpose of the permanent establishment in Pakistan while in government or outside it. It can therefore be considered a permanent party, in the sense that, given the nature of electoral politics in Pakistan, it has often managed to muster great strength in the legislative assemblies. It ceased to be a movement party at the time of independence and has since followed a policy of the status quo in most matters, be it land reform, tenurial relations, law-and-order, the bureaucracy's one-way flow of authority or foreign policy commitments. While the civil and military bureaucracies have championed the cause of agricultural and industrial development, they have also tried to control its dysfunc-

tional effects on society. That explains their keenness to rely on the landed elite which, even more fervently, tries to keep the social fabric intact. The feudal leadership of the Muslim League (s) therefore represents the Pakistan state's vested interest in backwardness.

LANDED FACTIONS

Strictly speaking the Muslim League is no party at all. It is a collection of landlord factions which have been floating on the sea of national politics. It has inherited this character from pre-independence days. For thirty years, i. e. from 1906 to 1936, it remained a party of nobles and professional elites. From 1937 to 1947, it came under the influence of the urban middle classes led by the Quaid-i-Azam, which lent it an ideological and organisational maturity. However, this influence was rather temporary and superficial. By the time Pakistan emerged as an independent country, landlords had already

where it has to review its political alignments, its socio-economic policies and its attitude towards martial law. In all probability, it will seek to expand its constituency in certain sectors of the society where it is less represented than necessary for its claims of being a national party. Similarly, it may not seek to come to a broad-based understanding with the PPP, with which it shares a relatively secular vision of politics, a reformist attitude towards national problems and a commitment to elections under the 1973 Constitution as the only way to democracy. It seems both the parties will continue following parallel routes to their cherished goal of winning a mass mandate. The big opportunity for the Tehrik might come with the promulgation of the new parties act, which would perhaps try to eliminate the PPP's role from politics. Whether the Tehrik falls for the temptation or not is an open question. But, one thing is certain: It has to go a long way to create a mass constituency which would put it safely on the seat of power. Perhaps alignment with its arch-adversary the PPP might be an answer, but that is neither here nor there.

managed to wean away the party's middle level leadership. After independence, the factional groupings of landlords became the mainstay of the Muslim League. They entered into coalitions with each other; various groups were lured away by the bureaucracy to form strange alignments in the centre as well as provinces. They thus provided the main excuse for imposition of martial law in 1958. Once the urban element was sharply reduced due to its absorption in the state bureaucracy, Muslim League factions defined the organisational policies at will. The party was divided and redivided into many Muslim Leagues, one siding with Ayub's government, the other languishing in the opposition hoping to make it by other means, and still another representing regional power structures.

The Muslim League, or for that matter any party in Pakistan, can survive only in an electoral framework of politics, because only then can their local influence be translated into real legislative power. But the anomaly is that the Muslim League has never been able to win a nation-wide election. The first and the last

sweeping electoral victory felt to it in 1946, which of course provided the basis for establishment of a separate homeland for Indian Muslims. In East Pakistan, it sought to postpone elections constantly, till in the 1954 elections it was put to rout and could never nurse it again. In the Punjab and elsewhere, the party continued depending on strong bureaucratic links and all sorts of malpractices to keep ahead of other parties in provincial politics, while at the centre it played musical chairs with other parties and party factions. It needed a controlled system of elections such as Ayub's 1962 Constitution, which again provided an outlet for the landlords' political ambitions. They were too ready to accept patronage from the military rulers and thereby formed the (Convention) Muslim League. However, once the necessary mechanism keeping the election system from becoming a free exercise of mass voting was gone in 1970, the Muslim Leagues of all shades crumbled badly. The same performance was repeated in 1977. That factor explains the political approach of the dominant Pagara faction of the Muslim League under the present regime. It struggled hard to achieve a certain type of elections where popular forces including such a mass party as the PPP would be excluded. Finally the 1985 elections provided exactly that type of voting pattern which could be easily tapped by landlords. Absence of party organisation and elimination of policy programmes or ideological issues from the election almost ensured Muslim League victory. It thus shared the political vision of the state bureaucracy of Pakistan, which abhors both well-organised political parties and party-based ideological movements. The Muslim League with its lowest institutional level, can participate in the power game only with the help of the state bureaucracy. No doubt, the present arrangement of enlisting the support of sitting legislators for the new parliamentary party under the name of the Muslim League is a rehash of the old game.

What are the political aims of the Muslim League now? It seems the party leadership is quite clear on the issue of maintenance of the status quo, which is

guaranteed under the leadership of President Zia. In fact, it is clearer on this issue now than under the previous regimes because of the grim presence of a so-called 'party of change,' the PPP in the country - as understood by the regime and large sections of the public. What the Muslim League is not so clear about is how to sort out the structural issues in the new set-up. There is a triangular pattern of political interaction between the three forces of military, parliament and the old Muslim League, represented by President Zia, Prime Minister Junejo and the Pir of Pagara respectively. How far can and should the military trust Junejo supporters in the parliament? Why should the newly elected members be stuck with a government whose bonafides are still largely suspect in the eyes of the grand alliance of the MRD. And what will be the attitude of old Muslim Leaguers of the Pagara group towards the new entrants into the party via the assemblies, under the leadership of Prime Minister Junejo?

LEGITIMACY

Perhaps the answers to these questions lie in the peculiar nature of Pakistan's politics. For example the military regime is confident that the assemblage of a set of ministers at the centre and provinces will in all probability serve to legitimize the regime under a civilian arrangement, that the latter will have to bear the responsibility for administration while it enjoys the reverts of power, and that it will take the air out of the sails of the MRD's opposition. No doubt the elected members of assemblies cannot but be a party to the new constitutional set-up which is the source of their present status and which they cannot wreck at any price. That ensures a continued working relationship between the military

and parliament, both of whom are distrusted by the MRD. Both these facts are reflected in the formation of the new parliamentary Muslim League party under the leadership of Prime Minister Junejo. The Muslim League is destined to play its role as a king's party not because of a policy decision or a collective party approach or some kind of expediency as alleged by its opponents. Its loyalty to the reigning junta is dictated by the landed elite's complex relations with the local bureaucracy everywhere. The fact that there is no organisational unity or ideological fecundity only facilitates its adaption to most governments in power. In other words it is unable to survive on its own as a party and is thus forced to seek protection from the government. The internal division, such as that between the Pir of Pagara and S. M. Zafar both representing their factional following, are less related to issues or policies and more to personal rivalries.

Will the Muslim League be able to handle the MRD agitation, if and when it is launched? It is very hard to tell. That dilemma explains its continued dependence on the military and the latter's reluctance to lift martial law. On the other hand, Prime Minister Junejo's tightrope-walking between the two personalities of President Zia and the Pir of Pagara might entail a tense relationship between the various factions of the parliamentary Muslim League in future. We can thus observe that the logic of events has pushed the Muslim League to open its doors to a motley group of parliamentarians who have only one trait in common: to win the maximum political mileage out of the military regime's need for legitimacy through accepting its patronage and playing its broker's role in society.

mosque, making little headway towards a permanent position in the local power structure. After Murti Mahmood, the party's internal division has weakened it considerably. The JUI (Fazlur Rehman group) is currently aligned with the MRD, where it espouses the cause of democracy. Its hostility towards the JI has further increased, due to the latter's flirtation with the martial law regime.

What is JUI likely to do once the new Political Parties Act comes into operation? Perhaps it will seek a collective MRD stand on the issue, because it has little chance of survival as a viable political organisation except under the latter's umbrella. Its performance in any forthcoming elections is very unpredictable, but it promises to survive as an organisational expression of the important Deoband school of Islamic theology.

JUP BASE

While the JUI has its core area in southern NWFP, the JUP has its base in urban Sind. It mainly represents large sections of the Urdu-speaking population, which formally adhere to the teachings of Sufi ulema, especially those from

Brelvi. This party is more relaxed on the issue of Islamic politics than the fundamentalist JI or the orthodox JUP. This is mainly because it is less demanding of its religious followers in political matters. The JUP's leader, Shah Ahmad Noorani, balked over the issue of joining the MRD while it was being formalised into an oppositionist alliance. Since then, the JUP's political identity has suffered greatly. It was neither pro-government like the PML (Pagara group) or the JI, nor pro-MRD. It thus lost both the former's patronage and the latter's public legitimacy through its lack of clear vision and bold initiative.

The JUP's religious attitudes seem to be more imaginative than those of the JI and JUI. It seeks to reflect the mass interest in building a humanitarian society, unlike the latter, who are committed to coercing the general populace into acceptance of their own revivalistic image of Islamic society. But the JUP's inherent limitations, such as its identity with Urdu-speaking people in Sind, its lack of a rural base and its readiness to take up sectarian issues, might keep it at its present level of relative insignificance in the larger political system of Pakistan.

[18 Aug 85 p 4]

[Text]

Pakistan, like many Third World countries, has a plethora of political parties operating on the margins of national power structure. It is clear that these parties will never make it to the seat of Government, nor indeed will muster enough strength to influence the pattern of local politics in any significant way. And yet they continue being around for various reasons, often seeking to play a political role of some sort in pursuit of their expressed goals. These reasons are deeply rooted in the nature of Pakistan's political system which provides a rationale for the existence of these parties and characterizes their role with various ends and means.

Foremost among these smaller parties are NDP, PDP, PML and PNP. These single leader parties are the integrated factional groupings.

PARTY PLATFORMS

Their leaders have sometimes in the past played a significant role possibly from other party platforms. NDP (formerly NAP) has its roots in an earlier phase of Pakistan politics, when the Punjabi Mujahar domination of the state system led to formation of a party by the provincial autonomists led by the East Bengalis. Following the NAP split in 1967, Wali Khan emerged as the leader of dominant West wing faction. He thus represented the radical anti-contrast elements within and outside the National Assembly for eight years, till the party was finally banned in 1975. Most of the NAP leadership was arrested and subsequently tried by a special tribunal. In a bold initiative, Sher Baz Mazari formed NDP as an alternative organisation for NAP workers who thus flocked to it in great enthusiasm. But the damage to Wali Khan's leadership was already done. Serious policy issues were raised by the Baluch leadership on the one hand and leftist intelligentsia of all regions on the other. From 1975 to 1985, Wali Khan's following has been constantly shrinking. His rigid

opposition to PPP, his adventurous offers of co-operation with the present Martial Law regime, and his alienation of Mazari group within the NDP on the issue of revival of 1973 Constitution combine with his overall lack of exposure to contemporary global politics to make him progressively a part of history. NDP under his leadership now promises to retain only a marginal support group in the central NWFP.

POLITICAL OUTLOOK

PDP under the leadership of Nawabzada Nusrullah presents a worse scenario. PDP was formed out of four political parties viz NDI of Nurul Anin, Justice Party of Asghar Khan, Nizam-e-Islam Party of Qudus Muhammad Ali and the Awami League (8 points). It thus claimed to be the strongest party on the eve of 1970 elections. Yet the party's fortunes have always been in doldrums. For the last 15 years, the party has had one 'national' leader but nothing else - no organisation, no ideology, no cadres, no workers Nawabzada himself

emerged on the national scene almost by default, i. e. as a compromise figure at the head of DAC in 1968-69 and later as a master negotiator in PNA's movement in 1977. The reason why PDP failed to move ahead is rooted in its very asset i. e. Nawabzada, who was groomed by politicians of a by-gone age and whose political outlook remains innocent of national and international realities in various fields of social life.

PML (Khaliduddin group) is a patchwork of the breakaway faction of Pagara Muslim League. No factional grouping has ever been able to play a significant role in Pakistan politics, especially in terms of electoral activity. PML's only leader Malik Qasim is if not exactly a nonentity, a remnant of old Muslim League Party workers who clung to the original leadership patterns for too long. If sincerity and simplicity could help restore democracy in the country, he would have made it long ago. We can describe the fate of PNP in similar terms. Bizenjo has been in politics for more than four decades. From the days of Qaumi State National Party in 1930s through NAP/NDP in 1960s and 1970s to PNP in 1980s, his career has shown perseverance in pursuit of secular goals within the framework of ethno-linguistic nationalism. Such a career pattern is in direct contrast with the national political culture of Pakistan, with its stress on two nation theory, Islamization, centralization of all power in the hands of federation, and dispensation with the need for constitutional rule in the country. As a politician, he shares with the leaders of NDP, PDP and PML a vision of party politics which is less innovative and more restrictive than would otherwise be needed in an era of rapid economic and political change. PNP has recently made inroads into the traditional NAP constituency, but with no promising results.

NATIONAL STATURE

Other smaller parties are less fortunate in as much their leaders are far from attaining a national stature. However, these parties are also petty organisational networks around individual intellectuals, who chose to take their respective groups of workers out of their parents parties, and sought an independent role for themselves in the larger body-politic. Mahaj Muhammad Khan's Qaumi Mahaz-

e-Azadi, Khurshid Hassan Mir's Awami Jamhoori Party and Hanif Ramay's Musawat Party are clear examples of these so-called worker parties. To this list can be added various socialist parties which are also characterized by clusters of close followers of dominant opinion makers within the parent party intelligentsia. For example, MKP separated from the NAP in late 1960s under the leadership of Major Ishtiaque. Within a few years, the second line intellectuals such as Sher Ali Raza, Afzal Bangash, Imtiaz Akram and Fatehyal Ali Khan could formulate their respective factional groupings, and looked forward founding separate parties of their own. Likewise, the other important breakaway faction of NAP, the Pakistan Socialist Party (CR Aslam group) continues operating in selected constituencies of rural and urban workers. These and other 'worker' parties are essentially the product of ideological differences between various leftist intellectuals. They share two things in common: their ideological debates are mostly uninformed, personalistic and somewhat irrelevant; and their understanding of the politics of Pakistan lacks appreciation of the need for larger and larger organisational entities from the non-bureaucratic sector.

CONSTRAINTS

Apart from these one-man parties, there are other organised groups which operate under various constraints. For example, Sindi Awami Tehrik of Rasool Bux Patejo which mobilized large sections of population in Sind during the MRD agitation in 1983 has had a constituency which is overlapping with the catchment area of bigger parties such as PPP, or which opposes the combined strength of bureaucracy and landlords. There are other parties with limited causes, such as Kisan Committee for the rights of peasants, Dehl Melinat Kashi Mahaz for those of agricultural labourers, Tehrik-e-Nafaz-e-Haq-e-Jafar for enactment of Shila laws, Majlis-e-Khatme Nabuwwat for jihad against Ahmedis, and various trade unions based on political groups seeking a voice in the system.

Will these and other smaller parties continue existing on the margins of Pakistan's political system? Most probably, Yes. There is a virtual monopoly of civil and military bureaucracies over the

state system of Pakistan, which has in turn disallowed political enterprisers in general to seek party careers within a parliamentary framework. While the administration snubs all organisation based activity, it tends to take it seriously whenever and wherever it succeeds in making noise. In such an atmosphere, political groups take up the role of pressure groups and lobby with the bureaucracy for their specific constituencies. Certain other workers cling to big leaders in a desperate attempt to retain a political identity of some sort. A whole spectrum of opinion ranging from left to right as well as from secularism to religious politics is represented by a host of smaller parties, in addition to bigger parties, which indicates differential exposure of groups and classes to contemporary processes of modernization, urbanization, media expansion, education and national integration. (CONCLUDED)

PAKISTAN

CONCERN EXPRESSED OVER 'DEEPENING EXPORT CRISIS'

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 16 Aug 85 p 4

[Text]

FINAL figures of exports in 1984-85 just released by the State Bank of Pakistan show a deepening crisis in this critical sector with vast ramifications. The fall in exports compared to the previous year was not the 1.3 per cent anticipated by the Economic Survey during the budget, but 12 per cent. Exports have dropped from 2,763.1 million dollars in 1983-84 to 2,399.7 million. That means the fall was not 21 per cent below the target of 3,313 million dollars set, but around 30 per cent.

What is far worse, this fall in exports is a continuing process, despite all the varied concessions given to exporters since exports reached 3 billion dollars in 1980-81. The situation might not have been so alarming if home remittances, too, were not falling, and last year had not ended with a staggering deficit in the current account in balance of payments of 1,635 million dollars, leaving a foreign exchange reserve enough to pay for six weeks import. And that reserve is now reported to have dropped further, necessitating determined efforts by the Government to borrow money from a consortium of foreign banks as well as the Islamic Development Bank.

Why has this fall of 12 per cent in exports (compared to the poor preceding year) come about when India's exports increased in the same period by 24 per cent? The Economic Survey spoke of the stiff competition to Pakistan's exports from India and even Thailand. Thus it is time an earnest and quiet critical study of the reasons why Pakistan is not able to compete with India is made, instead of holding frequent conferences and meetings with a battery of VIPs attending them. The need of the moment is a detailed scientific study of the problem, and not endless exhortations to exporters at expensively organised conferences.

Why, despite the steady devaluation of the rupee which makes a dollar fetch 60 per cent more Pakistani goods, the varied export rebates, provision of export finance at vastly reduced interest rates despite the recent revision, and a variety of tax relief, exports have gone down by a clear 20 per cent during

the last three years instead of rising by 60 per cent? Clearly, despite the glib talk of rapid industrialisation of the country the economy is overridingly agricultural. And despite the claims of steady rise in the value added in our exports, the bulk of the exports are raw produces like rice, cotton and fish or marginally processed ones like cotton yarn, coarse textile and leather exports. Earnings crashed last year as the export price of rice came tumbling down. The rise in cotton output to six million bales was accompanied by a crash in export prices. Earnings from cotton cloth as well as synthetic textiles also fell.

Aggravating the situation further were unethical export practices and inefficient commercial operations. Too many businessmen want to make millions overnight and do not bother to meet the exacting demands of quality exports. As a result, exports to Iran, which fetched Rs. 5.94 billion in 1983-84, dropped to below Rs. 1.4 billion last year. What is needed is qualitative improvement in all these directions, and not the proverbial hope for the better or high targets set up thoughtlessly with scant supportive measures.

CSO: 4600/617

PAKISTAN

ECONOMIC COMMENTARY VIEWS 'NEW PAYMENT CRISIS'

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 17 Aug 85 p 4

[Article by Aslam Sheikh]

[Text] — An IMF mission is due here early next month for a fresh round of on-going discussions on Pakistan's current balance of payments difficulties. This is said to be the follow-up of talks held recently in Washington where some of our top officials did not succeed in negotiating either the compensatory relief for decline in exports or quick disbursement of soft World Bank sector loans against the backdrop of rapidly dwindling foreign exchange reserves.

By now it is clear that, notwithstanding the rosy economic scenario projected in the current year's budget last May, the actual situation on the ground is far from satisfactory. Falling exports for the third successive year, declining remittances for the past two years, and a new pressure on imports because of a big gap in wheat production have resulted in a big draw-down of the reserves in the last six months. With imports maintaining roughly a monthly average of 500 million dollars, a crisis of serious proportions confronts the country as far as financing immediate and pressing import requirements are concerned. A huge piled-up project aid is of little value in this situation because what we need is quick-disbursing commodity assistance and some urgent cash flows.

Some insiders say the situation may have been somewhat less disturbing if some concerned people in the Ministry of Finance had been more vigilant in monitoring the declining exports some months ago and approached the IMF for an immediate compensatory facility within the framework of IMF rules. Apparently, the delayed

approach led to the lapsing of some of our previous claims relating to the period when the fall in exports because of international factors was the steepest. The IMF is now apparently haggling over the precise quantum of relief Pakistan is qualified to receive. It is understood while our calculations are around 300 million dollars, the other side's estimate is much lower.

But this is only part of the story. While new pressures continue to build up on our balance of payments budget, the IMF, in concert with the World Bank is dragging its feet on disbursement of funds because of sharp differences with Islamabad on some critical policy issues. Even Dr. Haq's new liberal policy drive is not entirely to the satisfaction of those in Washington who have come to acquire considerable say in our economic policies, particularly since 1979-80 when we chose to surrender a good deal of our economic sovereignty in exchange for a massive stand-by arrangement to avert a major financial disaster.

Reliable reports indicate that both the IMF and World Bank are considerably alarmed at the continuing disequilibrium between our tardily rising revenues and galloping expenditure. Obviously, they are not impressed with our efforts in the latest budget to generate new real resources. May be they will like to wait and watch the response to the new budgetary moves to mop up 'black' money. The timing of the IMF mission next month is significant because by then the picture on that front is expected to become clearer.

Both the IMF and the World Bank have their reservations on some other policy issues too. While we have gone a long way in liberalising our import policy over the past six years, as well as adjusting our exchange rate system, we are still heavily protectionists by their standards. We are still pressed for a wide-ranging tariff reform to open up our economy to the unending demands of the multi-

nationals. Simultaneously, our pace of privatisation, decontrol measures as well as phasing out of subsidies are apparently not up to the donors' expectations. Some say Dr. Haq's modest experiment with indexation has also not gone down well with the Western watchers of our economy as it tends to interfere with the free flow of market forces.

Not very long ago, we triumphantly announced that the World Bank annual commitment to our development needs would be rising to 850 million dollars. But it seems the disbursement of relatively soft sector loans of 400 million dollars is still a big question mark because we seem reluctant to pay the heavy price of qualifying for it. Unless IMF gives us an early certificate of good behaviour, the World Bank will not oblige. In the meantime, our balance of payments situation is heading towards a dangerous point. It is clear the next two or three months are crucial in our economic decision-making.

It is true that the complicated situation we have trapped ourselves in today is the result of many years of our dependence on external resources and consequent dictation of our economic policies from outside. We can now get out of it gradually, by drawing more and more on our internal reserves of strength. But one wonders if our elites accustomed to easy ways out of crises really want to opt for the hard but respectable path of independent development? From many indications, it looks we are preparing for a new massive stand-by to salvage us from our present difficulties.

PAKISTAN

ASSEMBLY MEMBERS SAID 'BEING COERCED TO JOIN OFFICIAL PARTY'

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 13 Aug 85 pp 1, 8

[Text]

The Government was today accused of adopting coercive methods to float an Official Parliamentary Party on the third day of the National Assembly debate on the regulation of political parties. On the whole the debate was heavily tilted against the recommendations of the 29-member Special Committee whose report is being discussed.

The outstanding contributions of the day came from a former Minister, Iqbal Baksh Soomro, and Syeda Abida Hussain. While the former emphasised that the formation of a party by the Government was an 'unnatural process,' the latter called for full freedom of political expression and participation, declaring that there was hardly any linkage between the withdrawal of Martial Law and the passage of a law regulating political parties.

Yet another lady speaker - Begum Durre Shahwar Mazari - called for automatic registration of parties, criticising the protracted procedure provided in the Special Committee Report, and asked if joint stock companies were entitled to registration without any detailed scrutiny, why should parties be treated discriminately?

Syeda Abida Hussain complained that since the February elections there had been no worthwhile movement towards a democratic dispensation. She repudiated the contention that a political vacuum would be created in the country in the event of withdrawal of Martial Law. If the implication was that political parties outside the Parliament were very powerful, then those inside the House had no moral right to adopt restrictive laws on the registration of parties. She, however, felt that it was a debatable whether outside political

parties would go on a rampage after the Martial Law is lifted, or that they were really so powerful as to pose a threat to the members of the House. She also criticised the process of settling political issues artificially. She took particular exception to what she called the 'loyalty clause' in the Committee's Report and argued that those elected on non-party basis had no moral right to prescribe such restrictions.

The Assembly today went into a four-day recess for Independence anniversary celebrations to reassemble on August 17.

AGENCIES ADD: Syeda Abida Hussain (Jhang) was of the opinion that the events following the 1970 elections when power was not transferred to the elected people - leading to the severing of East Pakistan - and the circumstances following the February, 1985, elections, betray some similarities, although the two situations do not duplicate of each other. She thought the military authorities perhaps have some reservations regarding the capacity and calibre of the elected people, which is why they are withholding transfer of power to them.

"In spite of passage of four months after the elections, instead of sharing power between the military and the elected representatives, there seems to be no movement forward," she said.

The member thought that the Senate, the National and Provincial Assemblies, the Prime Minister, the provincial Chief Ministers and their Cabinets seem to be performing "decorative functions" while "the decision-making stays where it was before 1985". She said this may not be the Prime Minister's perception, but she believes it.

Syeda Abida Hussain said contrary to what the 29-member Committee feels, "there is no linkage between the lifting of Martial Law and the Political Parties Act" or the restoration of democracy.

She said when President Zia spoke of "ishtrak-e-ittidat" some months ago, "there was no indication that the Political Parties Act will be the link between the lifting of Martial Law and restoration of political parties."

Abida Hussain said "no political vacuum will be created when the Assemblies have been elected and are operative." To claim that such a thing can happen amounts to derogating the capacity, skill and calibre of the elected parliamentarians, she said.

She urged the lifting of Martial Law while the Assembly can go on debating a new Political Parties Act which should enjoy the support of not only the majority of the House but that of the hearts and minds of the people of Pakistan as well, after which the new legislation can be enacted.

Sahibzada Nur Hussain (Bahawalpur-cum-Bahawalnagar) said it is unfortunate that 38 years after the establishment of an independent Pakistan, the nation is still debating what course of life and political system should be adopted. He said it is all the more painful because the country has passed through various tragedies and crises since its establishment.

Mrs. Durre Shamar Mazari (Punjab), the first lady member in three days to participate in the debate, was of the view that a political party should not be restrained from operating for one year after it has applied for registration to the Election Commission. Even a joint stock company can start operating immediately without going through the official procedure, she said.

She thought that no government should be empowered to suspend or ban a political party because past experience shows that certain political parties were victimised by the rulers. Such power should vest only in the Supreme Court.

Mrs. Mazari said that Martial Law should be lifted immediately without waiting for the passage of the proposed Political Parties Act, because such a legislation may take some time to be enacted. She also asked the Government to set a definite date for lifting of Martial Law, because "Martial Law frustrates the people and destroys the country," besides being un-Islamic. She urged restoration of human rights, giving judiciary the suspended powers, and adopting a civilised form of government.

Mir Nawaz Khan Marwat (Karachi), said existence of Pakistan is linked with democracy and not with Martial Law. He said the 29-member Committee held 18 sessions in 17 days but failed to produce anything original on the subject. "The report has plagiarised the Political Parties Act of 1962" and copied its provisions ex-

tensively. The member alleged and read out excerpts from the old Act to substantiate his point.

Mr. Marwat said the country should have political parties but no mushroom organisations. Nor should they be foreign-aided or propagate confederation. He said each contesting party should have a specified percentage of votes from each of the four provinces - a mechanism which will ensure establishment and growth of political parties with a national stature.

Mr. Marwat also advocated the necessity of a free Press which should build up institutions and not a handful of people. The Press, he said, should also guide the nation towards a better future.

Mr. Iqbal Bakhsh Soomro (Shikarpur), the first speaker of the day, reminded the members that they were elected in February this year to ensure restoration of democracy and lifting of Martial Law, to enforce Nizam-e-Islam and to cater to the development needs of the people, besides eradicating corruption.

Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo, he said, was unanimously elected as Leader of the House. But efforts are currently being made to form an Official Parliamentary Group (OPG) to establish a political party. He said he had nothing against forming a party, but asked which Muslim League is sought to be established? He said the members are being asked in a hush-hush manner to join the official party and some are being coerced to do so. Political parties and political activities are still banned in the country and the efforts to woo the members to join the official party, he said, are "illegal."

He said there seems to be no need to do so at the moment because no section of the House opposes the Prime Minister who should take all the members along in a spirit of consensus. It is always a party which forms a government, but in the present case a government is trying to form a party, which could meet the same fate as the Republican Party in the 1950's and the Convention Muslim League in the 1960's.

The Prime Minister in his very first speech to the House had declared that "Martial Law and democracy cannot coexist" but even after the passage of five months since this statement, what is preventing the Government from taking a decision to lift Martial Law, the member asked.

He termed the report of the 29-member Committee as "disappointing" because instead of laying down the procedure and urging the lifting of Martial Law, it has disposed of the subject in the last two and a half lines. He said the Committee has not gone beyond suggesting

that "urgent steps should be initiated to lift Martial Law" as soon as the Political Parties Act is passed.

He termed the new Government as "a cage" after entering which the members will lose their freedom of action.

Mr. Soomro said if the Government is keen to form groups, it should be done but without "crushing the opposition." He stressed the need for the Government and the House to work with a consensus.

CSO: 4600/617

PAKISTAN

ASSEMBLY MEMBERS CRITICIZE MOVE FOR OFFICIAL PARTY REGISTRATION

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 18 Aug 85 pp 1, 8

[Text]

The move for the registration of political parties was bitterly opposed by some members as the National Assembly resumed its debate on the special committee report on the country's future political structure after a four-day recess.

While one lady member said the attempt to regulate political parties before the withdrawal of Martial Law and the restoration of fundamental rights was like putting the cart before the horse, another lady member denounced the concept of a guided or regulated democracy. Yet another member described the report as a negation of democracy and reminded the House that neither the Quaid-e-Azam nor the first Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan envisaged any registration measure for political parties. He said registration of parties would amount to political victimisation and would be counter productive. Those likely to be debarred would not register themselves in any case and those refused registration would win the people's sympathy and this would enhance their popularity.

One critic opposed the protracted procedure envisaged for processing applications for registration and suggested that the Election Commission should not take more than one month to decide registration of a party, adding also that the report had not specified any time-limit. The provision vesting the government with the power to dissolve a party on ideological grounds was also attacked by a member who said this right should be given only to the Election Commission.

The recommendation regarding the unseating of members wanting to abstain from voting on an issue against a party's whip was also vehemently criticised by some who said such a provision could be misused by a ruling party. They emphasised that on important issues members should have the right

to vote according to their conscience.

AGENCIES ADD: Begum Rafia Tariq was the first to speak at today's session. She criticised continuation of Martial Law and said that Martial Law is no law.

She, however, welcomed the announcement of the Prime Minister, Mohammad Khan Junejo in Lahore, setting January 1 next before which the Martial Law would be lifted. She asserted that the announcement should have been made in the House rather than at a public meeting in Lahore. Such a course would have vindicated the honour and prestige of the House, she said.

Referring to various proposals made by the special committee, Begum Rafia Tariq said that no one in Pakistan could think of forming a political party against the Islamic Ideology of Pakistan. The recommendation, therefore was neither necessary nor proper.

About the recommendation in respect of vesting of power in the government for dissolution of political parties, she termed it as a negation of norms of justice. The proposal would provide totalitarian powers to the government to which she took strong exception. Begum Rafia suggested that a tribunal consisting of judges from the Supreme Court and the High Courts in the country, should deal with the question.

Criticising the committee recommendation about the crossing of floor, she said that these were not just and threatened the liberty of the members, contrary to the Islamic tenets.

Speaking next Mohammad Arif Khan(Jhang) criticised the committee recommendation about the registration of political parties. He traced the political history of Pakistan and noted that right from the Quaid-e-Azam, down upto Mr. Bhutto, none of the leaders opted for the registration of the political parties. They had not resorted to any such measure because they were convinced that the regis-

tration of parties negated the democratic principles. Insistence on registration of parties would unnecessarily incite the defunct MRD and other parties to agitation. He described the recommendation as an oppressive provision as it was fraught with vesting unlimited powers with the government. He said he had no illusion that the political parties for whom the law of registration was being proposed would never register themselves.

About the lifting of Martial Law, Mr. Arif said he did not doubt the intentions of the Prime Minister. But he questioned the justification for prolonging it so long. Martial Law, he said, had done tremendous harm to the nation politically, morally, and culturally. As long as Martial Law will persist, the nation will continue to suffer", he said adding that the amount of oppression and suppression, during Martial Law, was unparalleled in any era in the country.

Mr. Arif also disagreed with the assertions that the country would be confronted with vacuum with the lifting of martial law and said that this was just an excuse to prolong martial law.

Mr. Arif also questioned the formation of the parliamentary group and asserted that it was an attempt to split the House.

Begum Salma Ahmed taking part in the debate expressed her dissatisfaction over the committee report regarding future political set up for the country. In her view the committee report was not a compact structure to run the state affairs but to regulate the political parties in the country. She said it was unfortunate that even after a lapse of 38 years we have been in the process of evolving a suitable political structure. Explaining the reasons for this setback she said democratic institutions were not established and particularly the Press which was the fourth pillar of democracy was not freed in the country.

Begum Salma said the purpose of the Assembly was not to give a regularised democracy to the country. Democracy was a right of the nation which should be provided.

Begum Salma criticised that exact time for fulfilling certain formalities was not fixed in the report. She suggested that the process for scrutinising the applications for registration of political parties and the registration process itself should not take more than one month, Begum Salma said.

Begum Salma said that in 1973 a provincial government was dissolved on the pretext of being 'traitor, but the same political party was released honourably by the next government and given a certificate of being patriots.

She said that in case of an appeal with the Supreme Court the decision should be announced within three months.

Regarding crossing of floor she said it was not fair to loose the seat in case of abstaining from voting. Vote is linked to ones conscience. Therefore nobody should be compelled to cast vote against it.

Dr. Sher Afghan (Mianwali com-Bhakkar) said that the separation of East Pakistan was the result of military rule.

He said the 29-member report has presented a political skeleton without any flesh, not a political structure which it was asked to provide'. Dr. Sher Afghan said the report has, at length dwelt on the political Parties Act of 1962, which itself has been defeated and had opened the way for repeated imposition of Martial Law in Pakistan.

He criticised the government for adopting various excuses to prolong the martial law. Each sentence in the report is deplorable' said the member. The House then adjourned to meet again on Sunday.

PAKISTAN

COMMENTARY DISCUSSES FLOOR CROSSING BY ASSEMBLY MEMBERS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 16 Aug 85 p 4

[Text]

The third session of the National Assembly, though not as stormy as the earlier one, has one thing special to offer to the eager watchers of the country's political developments. The long awaited report on the future political structure has been presented and is being currently debated. There is nothing startling in the recommendations, and most of the proposals are exactly what was being speculated. But one apparently harmless provision seems to have caused a major upset in the scheme of things envisaged by the treasury benches. The ruling party is not content with the oaths of loyalty signed by the legislators and wants a legal safeguard against desertions. Crossing of floor will not be allowed, and if you want to change your party affiliation you must resign your seat, says the Khattak committee report.

The proposed restriction on floor crossing is not an extraordinary demand and has been considered a legitimate device to make individual legislators adhere to a code of ethical political behaviour. In a parliamentary democracy the polls are contested on a party basis, and the choice of the electorate is primarily determined by the party plank and not by the individual candidates. Thus a party may claim the right to discipline its members, enforce the party mandate and ask conscientious objectors to resign and seek re-election. From a moral perspective this measure may be perceived as a necessary check against political opportunism. In a multi-party system repeated floor crossings by ambitious power seekers may create a situation of political instability that warrants a curb on switching of parties.

In India the ruling party had smooth sailing at the centre, and except for two brief periods it had a decisive majority in the Lok Sabha, but constant desertions in many Pradesh assemblies had a disastrous effect on the functioning of fragile state governments. The

But an anti-desertion law is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it helps a ruling party to maintain its majority, but on the other it also rules out the possibility of alluring opposition members to the government camp. Representative governments with authoritarian dispositions are inclined to muffle the opposition by splitting its ranks and winning over the weaklings either by coercion or bribery. Hence, a device which initially may seem to help a ruling party strengthen its hold and ensure stability may ultimately become a serious obstacle in its quest for total control— of course, if the electoral process is not rigged and the opposition is given a fair chance to reach the legislatures.

malaise of floor crossing became so rampant that the making or unmaking of many ministries was in the hands of a few double crossers who would often get the price they would ask for. Thus a vicious circle of corruption, blackmail and intrigue was set, which induced Rajiv Gandhi to get the anti-desertion law enacted.

But an anti-desertion law is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it helps a ruling party to maintain its majority, but on the other it also rules out the possibility of alluring opposition members to the government camp. Representative governments with authoritarian disposition are inclined to muffle the opposition by splitting its ranks and winning over the weaklings either by coercion or bribery. Hence, a device which initially may seem to help a ruling party strengthen its hold and ensure stability may ultimately become a serious obstacle in its quest for total control - of course, if the electoral process is not rigged and the opposition is given a fair chance to reach the legislatures.

Crossing the floor may be unethical and opportunistic but all adherents to democratic norms do not approve of its eradication by legislation. There are strong advocates of a representative's primary accountability to his constituency who do not want the ordinary members to become victims of the "tyranny of the majority" or "arbitrariness of party bosses". They argue that if the initiative of ordinary members to make decisions according to their conscience is curbed, and if they do not possess the leverage to defy the leadership, it would tend to encourage extraordinary centralisation of authority and undemocratic functioning among the parties.

While the debate on the merits and demerits of the anti-desertion law has yet to crystallise in the National Assembly, the initial reaction among the MNAs who have pledged support to OPG is one of anxiety and concern.

They consider the proposed curb unfair and illogical and maintain that since they were not elected on a party ticket they cannot be subjected to such discipline. The reasoning is sound and is likely to have a wider appeal. There have been suggestions that the enforcement of the law may be postponed until the next elections are held on a party basis. But apparently the OPG leaders are not inclined to accept this compromise solution since this does not serve the purpose for which the exercise of creating a new political structure has been undertaken.

A conflict of interests has arisen between the leaders and adherents

of the OPG, which has the potential of creating a crisis and further delaying the process of restoration of political parties. Whereas the MNAs are reluctant to forego their claim as public representatives in their own right, the treasury benches want legal safeguards to ensure a secure position before the field is thrown open to rival contenders. The timing is crucial in both, since the proposed measure is not being perceived as a question of ethical political behaviour, but as a matter of political survival. The ruling party, unlike a mass party created from the grass roots, does not have either the leadership or the apparatus necessary to accept the challenge of open competition.

If martial law has to go, there must be other safeguards to hold the heterogeneous elements together, and obviously political patronage is not enough to satisfy all the ambitious aspirants for political power. Unscrupulous change of political affiliations is not alien to our political culture, and we have seen in the past how the Muslim League Republican contention for power in the West Pakistan legislature made a mockery of parliamentary democracy.

The fears and apprehensions of the leaders of the OPG are well founded, but one can only sympathise with them because their predicament is their own creation. Politics is a game of ruthless competition, and politicians who want to make the mark cannot afford to behave like over-protected children of the elite. If the legislators are not willing to become hostages of the ruling party, they cannot be accused of disloyalty because they haven't changed the rules of the game. They are the product of a non-party system and don't owe their electoral success to any external patrons. It seems that most legislators would prefer to keep their options open and would not like to become political non-entities. However, the controversy over the proposed measures to curb floor crossing can perhaps be resolved by working out a mutually acceptable formula. Otherwise, the task of the recruitment of the OPG would not be as smooth as it appeared initially.

PAKISTAN

MINISTER GIVES FIGURES ON ARMY OFFICERS, QADIANIS IN CIVIL SERVICE

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 13 Aug 85 p 8

[Article by Saeed Qureshi]

[Text]

The Federal Finance Minister, Dr. Mahbubul Haq, who also holds the portfolio of Establishment Division, told the National Assembly today that 208 commissioned army officers had been inducted into civil services in the last eight years. Of these, he said, 111 were re-employed on contract basis. The Minister, however, could not furnish details of the non-commissioned officers inducted into civil departments, as according to him, the required figures were not readily available from the Ministries and Divisions where they were employed.

There was a barrage of supplementary questions about the justification behind absorbing the army officers in the civil ranks. The central theme of all the supplementaries put by Begum Abida Hussain, Mrs. Mazari, Sheikh Rashid and Abdul Hamid Jatol, was that there was a large number of talented and outstanding civilian officers who could take the place of the army officers working in civil services. Abdul Hamid Jatol argued that if army officers could work in the civilian cadres, why were the civilian officers not allowed to occupy prestigious posts in the army.

The Establishment Minister came out with an elaborate explanation laying special stress on the sense of patriotism of the army personnel like any other citizen of the country. He said that by serving the army, these officers do not cease to be the citizens of the country. Moreover, he explained,

that some of the technical posts could be filled only by the army officers who had the required know-how and proficiency in those special fields.

Intensive debate took place on the appointment of Qadianis on key posts in various government departments and divisions in Pakistan. A list of 57 top ranking officers was produced before the members. In response to a supplementary question by Liaquat Baloch as to whether the list presented in the House was exhaustive and final, the Establishment Minister conceded that names from 14 Ministries were still awaited. Maulana Gohar Rehman, and Dr. Shafiq together with the principal questioner Liaquat Baloch questioned the appointment of Qadianis on sensitive posts apprehending that they were the enemies of Pakistan and Islam and, therefore, cannot project the national cause in the right spirit. Marshalling his argument, based on article 27 of the Constitution, Dr. Mahbubul Haq said that the minorities enjoyed full protection of life and earn livelihood under the constitution. The constitution of Pakistan he argued does not discriminate the citizens on the basis of their sex, religion, caste, creed or race. Additionally, he pleaded, that the quotas in government services was never fixed according to religious inclinations of citizens.

Dr. Shafiq alleged that Pakistan's Ambassador in Geneva, Qazi Mansoor Ahmed, had acted against the decision of the Pakistan Government to declare the Qadianis a minority and had opposed this decision in an application. Maulana Gohar Rehman argued that while the protection of the rights of minority was a national obligation, the appointment of Qadianis on important posts was against the

injunctions of Islam and Sunnah. Dr. Mahbub said that while he will verify the veracity of complaints against the Ambassador he would bring it to the attention of worthy members that protection of minority was a sacred duty of all citizens because we have a white segment on our flag which calls for giving the minorities what is due to them.

Dr. Mahbubul Haq told the Assembly that 57 officers under the administrative control of Establishment Division were sent to the USA for training during the last six years. The entire expenses on their training were borne by the international agencies as well as the US Government.

Hamid Nasser Chatta assured the House that the revival of the union activity in Pakistan Television was under the active consideration of the Government but he expressed his inability to give any timeframe for lifting the ban. To another question Mr. Chatta said that as soon as Martial Law is lifted, which he hoped, in the near future, the opposition would also be allowed to project their programme and point of view on the television. When asked whether Mr. Chatta considered the present incumbent government as a Martial Law or the civilian set-up, Mr. Chatta replied "the honourable member is well aware of the correct position."

The Railway Minister, Abdul Ghafoor Khan Hoti informed the House that microwave system to be installed by the Pakistan Railway will be completed by Jan. 1987. The contract for installation has been awarded afresh to a firm from Republic of South Korea after an American firm LTV abandoned it. He said that a total of Rs.778.665 million will be spent on the entire project.

The re-tendering, he claimed, has saved 70 million rupees in addition to 10 million dollars paid by the defaulting company as compensation.

PAKISTAN

INDIA-PAKISTAN TENSION OVER SIACHEN GLACIER REVIEWED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 16 Aug 85 Magazine p 1

[Article by N. Z. Jugan]

[Text]

The clashes that have taken place between Pakistani and Indian forces in the snow-bound north have brought into international limelight a not so widely known geographical feature called the Siachin glacier. This second largest glacier in the world is located in the Baltistan district of Pakistan along the cease-fire line close to the border of China.

The glacier has been under Pakistani control ever since the cease-fire (now called the line of actual control) between Pakistan and India in Jammu and Kashmir state on January 1, 1949. Since then the Glacier has been considered a part of what is now known as the Northern Areas of Pakistan. The glacier itself is an ill-defined snowbound landscape.

Recently India has staked a claim to it and sent its forces to occupy portions of the glacier, resulting in several clashes between the forces of either side. It is still not clear on what basis India has suddenly decided that the Glacier is on its side of the cease-fire line, as it has never raised the issue during the last 36 years. Even during the Indo-Pak wars of 1965 and 1971, India had concentrated its efforts on occupying territory at other points along the cease-fire line, leaving the Siachin glacier untouched. India's present claim has, therefore, come as a surprise, not only to Pakistan but to other

countries also. It would appear that the sudden Indian interest in that piece of frozen real estate is inspired by strategic motives.

To understand whatever strategic value Siachin glacier has, it is necessary to get an idea of the geographical and historical background of the glacier.

HISTORY

The Siachin glacier has a fascinating history. In 1889 Francis Younghusband ventured on its slopes leading to what he thought was the Salto pass but was actually the Indira Col (5760 meters) at the head of the then undiscovered Siachen glacier.

Young husband failed to gain what he thought was the Salto pass (now called Bilafond La). When his Survey results were scrutinised, it was found that his Salto pass was 35 Kilometers NNW of the position fixed by the Survey of India from the South. After twenty years this discrepancy was cleared up. Dr. T. G. Longstaff, Dr. A. M. Nave and A. M. Slingsby made their way across the Bilafond La (5550 meters) and sighted a huge unknown glacier flowing from northwest to South-East. This was the Siachen glacier, 72 kilometers from head to snout. Only the 77 Kilometre long Fedchenko glacier in the Pamirs exceeds it in length. In comparison, the longest Himalayan glaciers, the Zemu and Gangotri, are only about 26 kilometres.

The Siachen and the glaciers East of it were explored and mapped by mountain travellers and

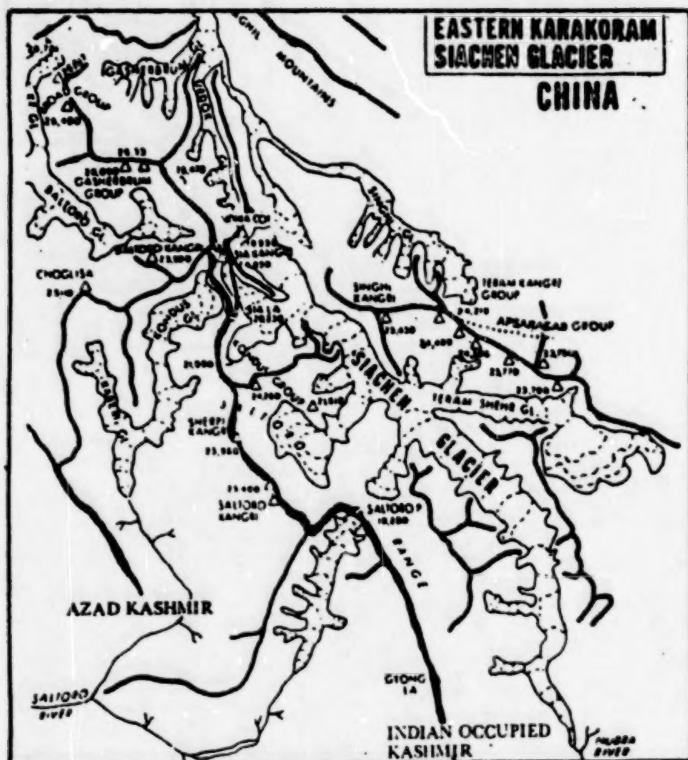
Surveyors during the next two decades, and the blanks on the map got filled in. The focus of mountaineering attention was largely upon the neighbouring Baltoro glacier complex, which contained all four of the 8,000 metres giants of the Karakoram. Only once did a serious mountaineering expedition venture towards the Siachen: in 1935, John Waller led a British team to Salto Kangri; they reached within 275 meters of the top in June before retreating.

Exactly fifty years later, in 1985, the curtain has risen again in the Karakoram. The once remote and seemingly profitless Siachen basin has suddenly gained in prominence. Strategically wedged between Pakistan, India and China, Siachen glacier in the Karakoram wasteland has been the scene of a bizarre and undeclared armed conflict largely unknown to the public in recent months.

A NOVEL GAME

During the last few years, India has played the novel game of using mountaineering expeditions to establish territorial rights. It is hell bent on securing control of the Siachen glacier unmindful of the price.

There are many factors which have prompted India to covet the about 20,000-feet high glacier. Firstly, it is after a precious piece of real estate two-thirds the size of Sikkim. Secondly, India fears that with Pakistan in control of Siachen,



the security of the whole of its Nubra valley, and through it Ladakh, will be jeopardised. Once on high ground, the Pakistani posts will overlook all the Indian outposts in the Nubra valley. Thirdly, India does not want to lose access to the Karakoram territory under its occupation, to which the best access route lies through the Nubra valley. As the location of Siachin is like a wedge between the Aksai Chin area of China and Pakistan's Northern Area, India is desperate to gain a foothold there for geostrategic reasons. Control of Siachin in the Nubra valley will expose the disaffected Muslim population in Ladakh. It is no secret that the Indians have always considered the simmering discontent among Kashmiri Muslims as a potent threat to its illegal occupation of the valley.

Pakistan's claim to Siachin is based on strong and irrefutable considerations. Since partition in 1947, the glacier basin has been firmly under the control of Pakistan. It demonstrated its control on numerous occasions

by granting permission to mountaineering expeditions to climb peaks like Sia, Saltoro, Tareh Kangri, Apara and Bashum in the vicinity of Siachin glacier. Way back in 1957, an Imperial College expedition under the famous mountain explorer and climber Eric Shipton was permitted access to the Siachin glacier by Pakistan for mountaineering and scientific research. The fact that the British expedition made its way to the Siachin across the Saltoro pass, and reconnoitred Saltoro Kangri without hindrance, was enough evidence of Pakistan's control of the glacier. More such expeditions followed, lending further credence to the Pakistani claim. An international expedition in 1960, followed by an Austrian in 1961 and at least three Japanese in 1962, 1975 and 1976.

It is no wonder then that in most of the foreign maps, including American, British and Chinese, Siachin is shown as belonging to Pakistan. The American Alpine Journal wrote that the Siachin glacier and several of the peaks now claimed by India belonged to Pakistan.

India resorted to cripopolitics as it launched its campaign for the control of Siachin in the late 1970's (cripopolitics is the political aspect and use of mountains and mountaineering to stake a claim in mountainous territory) efforts were made to send expeditions to climb in and around the Siachin. The first such expedition was mounted in 1978 another in 1980 and the third and the most ambitious in 1981. But it must be noted that all these expeditions were solely Indian army affairs comprising soldiers. The fact that these were indigenous Indian expeditions and that not a foreign expedition has been mounted from the Indian side to Siachin did not quite enhance India's claim.

India soon realised that it will have to go a step beyond cripopolitics and use force to dislodge the Pakistani posts in Siachin. The Indian attack came in November, 1983 when it airlifted a full battalion to the snowy heights of Karakoram. Since that provocative intrusion by the Kumaon regiment of Indian army, the Siachin has witnessed frequent and inconclusive skirmishes. As one of the coldest regions in the world where temperatures fall at time to minus 50 degrees centigrade and freezing winds and scarcity of oxygen make life difficult, Siachin seems an impossible place as a battlefield. But thanks to the aggressiveness of the Indians, this cold front has been turned into a hot one.

Pakistan indeed has an advantage as far as its claim to Siachin is concerned. Way back in the 1960's American and British maps had depicted the cease-fire line in the northern extremity of Kashmir as stretching far eastwards and ending right at the Karakoram pass. India never objected to these maps, not even in the wake of the 1965 and the 1971 wars nor when a new line of control was drawn up on the maps in December 1972, after protracted negotiations between India and Pakistan in which the former clearly enjoyed a position of strength.

But since the belated realisation in New Delhi, India has moved swiftly to augment its otherwise weak case regarding Siachin. In August, 1984, India published a mischievous map which patently departs from former Indian foreign minister Sardar Swarn Singh's description of the northern extremity after the accord

with Pakistan on the line of control was signed. India purposely tried to accentuate its imaginative fears of Pakistan linking up with China in the north. It raised an alarm over the alleged Pakistani designs in order to justify its own aggressive motives.

While categorically rejecting the Indian claim to Siachin, Pakistan had made it clear that it would do its best to protect its rights in the best possible manner without resort to use of force. Foreign Minister Sahibzada Yaqub Khan has asserted that Siachin is part of the Northern Areas of Pakistan. Although Pakistan has said it would not resort to the use of force, Indian intransigence has resulted in a number of armed clashes in the recent past. But despite its preparedness to employ military means to capture Siachin, India is well aware that its claim to Siachin lack both legal and moral backing.

CSO: 4600/616

PAKISTAN

BRIEFS

PUBLICATIONS PROSCRIBED--Lahore, 16 Aug--The Government of the Punjab has proscribed following publications for containing objectionable material within the meaning of the West Pakistan Press and Publications Ordinance, 1963. The book entitled 'Pakistan mein Islami inqilab ki zaroorat aur uss ka laia amal' written by Kalim Siddiqui and published by the Muslim Institute, 6 Endsleigh Street London. The book entitled 'Tauq-o-Dar Ka Ma usam' written by Saeeda Gazder published by Pakistani Adab Publications Karachi. The booklet entitled 'Tarbiati Mazameen' published by Ghulam Hussain office Majlis Ansarullah Markazia, Rabwa. All copies of the above mentioned publications have been forfeited by the government with immediate effect.--APP [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 17 Aug 85 p 6]

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October 1, 1985